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THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC
JOURNAL.

THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC JOURNAL
AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY,
1906.

EDITED BY
W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A., P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A.,
AND
L. A. LAWRENCE.



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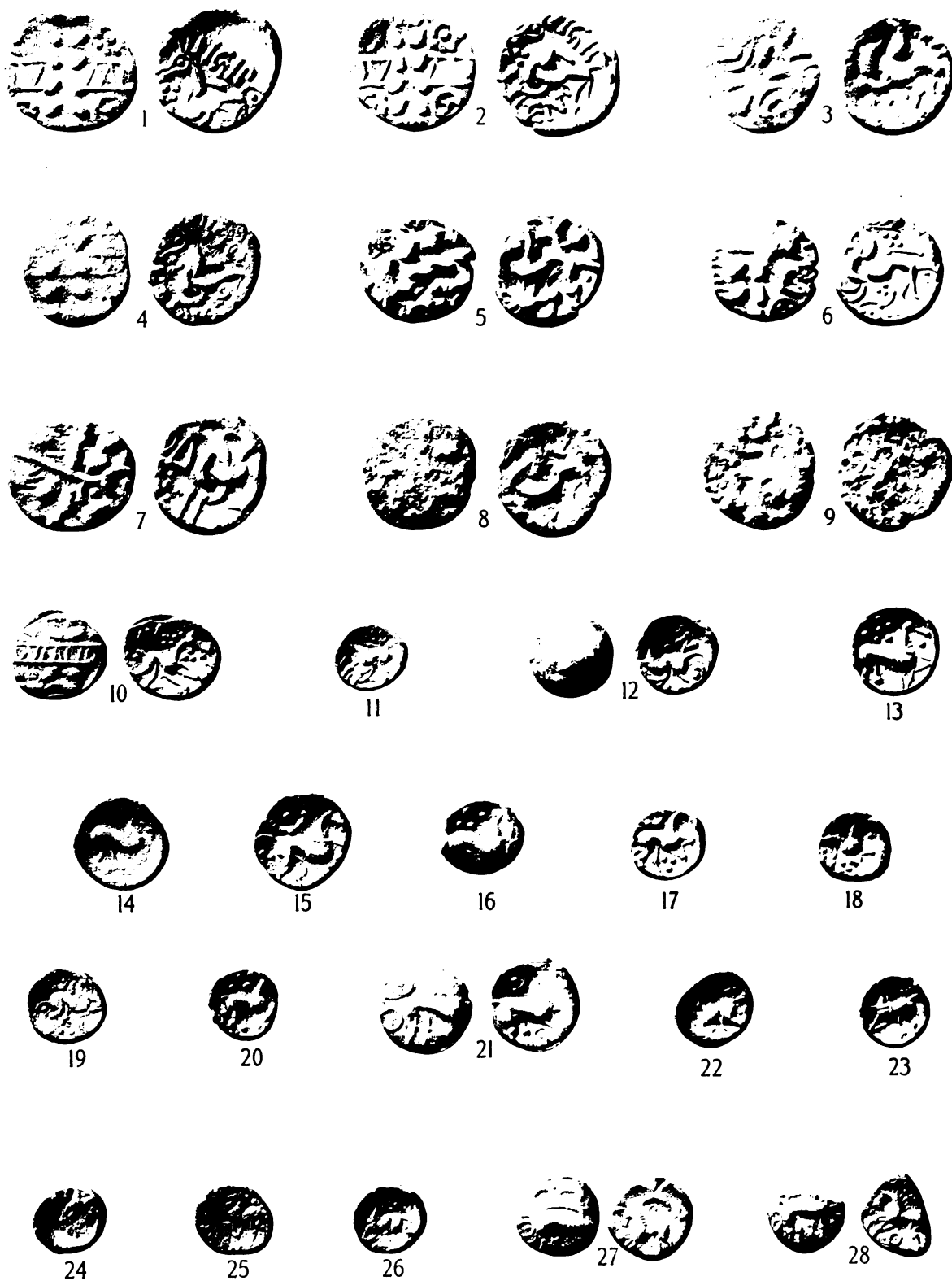
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ANCIENT BRITISH COINS.

Gold Nos. 1—9. Silver Nos. 10—28. Found at South-Ferryn, Lincolnshire.

A FIND OF ANCIENT BRITISH COINS AT SOUTH
FERRIBY, NEAR BARTON-ON-HUMBER,
LINCOLNSHIRE.

BY BERNARD ROTH, *Vice-President.*

MR. THOMAS SHEPPARD, of the Hull Museum, wrote to me as follows:—

“I was born in the next house to that of Thomas Smith at South Ferriby. He was very eccentric, and in no circumstances would he allow people to see his collection, whilst the idea of selling anything was absolutely out of the question, because, as he quaintly put it, ‘the’ll nobbut tak best.’ Beyond a ridiculously exaggerated idea of the value of the objects he found, he knew nothing about them and apparently cared less. Practically anything that was metal was added to his collection, and whilst he obtained an enormous amount of rubbish in this way, he also got many valuable specimens. In addition to the British, he found nearly three thousand Roman bronze and silver coins, principally small bronze of Constantine and his period; also a few Anglo-Saxon stycas and silver coins of pre-Elizabethan date. In addition to the coins, there were about one hundred fibulæ, mostly Roman, but including a few Anglo-Saxon of the ‘square-headed’ type, and there were also some British stone implements, particularly a fine flint arrow-point. With the exception of the British coins which were withdrawn at the sale, we have now in this museum practically everything of interest that was sold from this locality, having bought back the lots that were taken away by purchasers. In his early days Thomas Smith worked at the chalk quarry, but for a long time prior to his death he had no occupation, and lived on some money which had been left to him by a relative. His expenses were almost nil—I never knew a man live on so little. I have seen him having his ‘dinner’ at the fount in the village—an onion bruised in a basin of water! He died in August, 1905, aged 67 years.

“On the South Humber shore there is a bank of boulder-clay and gravel, nearly a mile long, which runs between South Ferriby Hall and the Ferriby Chalk Pit. This bank is really an ancient glacial moraine. About mid-way along the cliff is a spring, which rises from the chalk below. Around this spring was a small Roman encampment, and practically everything which

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Smith found was in front of the one field in which this spring is situated. I know the place fairly well, for I have spent days with him collecting. During the past forty years or so, the Humber has been washing the cliff away to a serious extent, several acres having entirely gone. Years ago, I distinctly remember seeing human bones in some numbers being washed out of the cliffs. The place was obviously a cemetery, and it was at that time that so many objects were found. Nowadays, the Humber seems to have entirely denuded that part of the land which contained the remains, and with the exception of a few small pieces of pottery, nothing seems to be washed out. I spend much time on the spot and can find nothing in comparison to what it was possible to find years ago. I have one small British silver coin in poor condition which I found there myself (Plate, No. 16). The reason the coins are not worn by tidal action on the beach is that they rarely got so far as the water-line, for, as a rule, they were picked up from the slope of the clay before they were washed on to the shingle."

This find consists of twenty-five examples, all of which, with the exception of Mr. Sheppard's specimen already mentioned, were gathered by Smith. At the present time eighteen belong to our President, Mr. P. Carlyon-Britton, and four to Sir John Evans, the President of the Royal Numismatic Society, and I have to thank these gentlemen for their kindness in lending them to me for this paper; the remaining two coins are in my cabinet. The find is remarkable for the large proportion of silver coins, viz., eighteen silver to seven gold, and of the latter several are of very base metal. Sir John Evans in his standard work on *The Coins of the Ancient Britons*, describing the coinage of the Yorkshire district, which included the dominions of the Brigantes, who inhabited Yorkshire, Lancashire, Lincolnshire, and other Northern Counties, writes, "a silver currency except of Roman coins, having been apparently unknown." This statement, however, proved to be incorrect by the discovery of a small 'find of coins and antiquities on November 7th, 1893, at Honley, near Huddersfield. It is described by Mr. G. F. Hill, of the British Museum, in a paper entitled "Cartimandua," which is published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1897, p. 293. The find included five silver coins which undoubtedly belonged to the Brigantes of the Yorkshire district. I might explain that Cartimandua was queen of the Brigantes, and in A.D. 51, Caractacus having sought

refuge with her, was by her treacherously given up to the Romans. I have to thank Sir John Evans for referring me to Mr. Hill's article.

Nos. 1 and 2 of the Plate were not found at Ferriby, but are inserted to define the general type of the gold stater of the Brigantes of which the gold coins found at Ferriby, viz., Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9, are varieties. I am indebted to Sir John Evans for lending me these two clear examples from his large collection.

The coins found at South Ferriby may be described as follows :—

GOLD.

No. 3. Stater of very impure gold weighing 60·1 grains and only fairly well preserved.

Obverse.—Convex, uninscribed: a wreath of rectangular leaves running in opposite directions from the centre of the coin, on either side a thin crescent clasping a ring beaded at intervals, and with a pellet in the centre.

Reverse.—Concave: a very rude disjointed horse moving to the left, with five pellets or indications of letters above and below the letters S V: very similar to Evans, Plate XVII, No. 4, of which a second specimen was found in Lincolnshire. Plate, No. 3, *Sir John Evans*.

No. 4. Stater of debased gold in a fairly well preserved condition, weighing 46·2 grains. (See Evans, Plate XVII, No. 1, and Plate XXIII, No. 13.)

Obverse.—Convex: only the letters L and O, one above the other, are visible of the full legend VO-LI SI-OS in two lines in a sort of compartment across a wreath of leaves running in opposite directions from the centre of the coin; a portion of a beaded ring can be seen in one angle.

Reverse.—Concave: in a slightly better state of preservation, shows the letters D V M above a disjointed horse moving to the left, while, below, only the letters N O can be discerned of the full legend DVMNOVELLAVNOS. The horse's mouth is open, and beneath the head is a triangle of pellets. Plate, No. 4, *Sir John Evans*.

No. 5. Stater, uninscribed, of apparently pure metal, weighing

86·7 grains. It is in a good state of preservation, and very similar to Evans, Plate XVII, No. 10, which was found near Lincoln.

Obverse.—Convex: portions of the degenerate bust to the right consisting of the wreath composed of very distinct billet-shaped leaves diverging upwards in high relief (in Evans, Plate XVII, No. 10, they diverge downwards) between locks of hair behind, and an open crescent and portion of a crescent ending in a large pellet in front.

Reverse.—Concave: extremely rude disjointed horse to the left with its head lost on the edge of the coin, and with a straight line joined on T-wise to the crescent forming the back. There is an unusually large pellet above and a small pellet below the tail; beneath the horse is a large star with unsymmetrical rays which is more complete than that shown in the illustration above referred to. Sir John Evans mentions a similar coin, but gold plated, weighing $67\frac{1}{2}$ grains, which, strangely enough, was also found at South Ferriby, and another, similar, of pure gold coin weighing 83 grains, found on the shore of the Humber at Whitton, Lincolnshire; the latter has a rosette of pellets beneath the horse. He favours the opinion that these coins were struck by the Coritani and not by the Brigantes. Plate, No. 5, *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton*.

No. 6. Stater of pure gold weighing 84·8 grains; it is almost exactly the same as Evans, Plate K, No. 11, which was also found at South Ferriby, and exhibited to the Numismatic Society, London, on February 21st, 1871.

Obverse.—Convex: portions of the degenerate bust to the right, consisting of the wreath composed of billet-shaped leaves running downwards across the coin, between locks of hair behind and two open crescents in front, which are joined together by the bifid end of the cross bandlet; below are three-fourths of a wheel with four spokes and a pellet in each quarter.

Reverse.—Concave: a disjointed horse to the left composed of four solid crescents, but the horse's head is absent through the design being too near to the edge of the coin, and the tail and hind-legs are consequently much more evident than in Evans, Plate K, No. 11; above the horse is a long lozenge enclosing four pellets; below the horse is a tribrach with curved arms, the upper arm ending in three pellets, while there are two pellets on each side of the lower

arm ; there are also three pellets below the tail, which are absent in the Evans illustration. Plate, No. 6, *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton*.

No. 7. Stater of rather base gold weighing 72·5 grains.

Obverse.—Convex: a cross-bar equally divides the coin and is bifurcated at one extremity ; each bifurcation ends in a crescent with a pellet in the fork between the crescents. The cross-bar is at right angles to and divides a wreath of rectangular leaves running in opposite directions from the centre of the coin. On each side of the other non-bifurcated end of the cross-bar is a lock of hair.

Reverse.—Concave: shows a rudely executed *half-horse* moving to the left, consisting of the head, neck, thorax, and forelegs only, looking, at first sight, not very unlike a bird with curved wings. Below the mouth of the horse is a rosette of pellets, and in front of the head is a portion of a ring ornament ; below the horse is a portion of a rayed star.

The obverse approaches closest to Evans, Plate XXIII, No. 14, and the reverse to Evans, Plate XVII, Nos. 11 or 12, but there the horse's hind-quarters are not wanting as in this apparently unique variety which is in my cabinet. Plate, No. 7.

No. 8. Stater of debased gold weighing 63·2 grains, in a bad state of preservation.

Obverse.—Convex: showing indications of the wreath of rectangular leaves running in opposite directions from the centre of the coin, which is crossed by a line ending in a sort of crescent which connects two open crescents separated by a pellet at the side of the wreath. Compare the obverse of Evans, Plate XVII, No. 12.

Reverse.—Concave: extremely rude and disjointed horse to the left, a straight line joined on T-wise to the crescent forming the back, with indications of a pellet on either side ; traces of another pellet beneath the tail, and below the horse a star. Compare the reverses of Evans, Plate XVII, Nos. 9, 10, and 11. Plate, No. 8, *Sir John Evans*.

No. 9. Stater of debased gold weighing 36·6 grains, with much green coppery deposit upon it, in so poor condition that one can only guess its design.

Obverse.—Convex: somewhat similar to Evans, Plate XVII, No. 12.

Reverse.—Concave: is so vague that it is impossible to give any detailed description of the numerous lines and pellets which cover its surface. Plate, No. 9, *Sir John Evans*.

SILVER.

We now come to what is by far the most interesting portion of this remarkable find, viz., the silver coins, eighteen in number, of which two only are inscribed.

No. 10 is an inscribed silver coin of Dumnovellaunos, the Yorkshire prince of that name, and is apparently of pure metal, weighing 12 grains. It is so very thin and fragile that it has unfortunately been fractured, and, although carefully mended, several small pieces on one side are missing.

Obverse.—Convex: the letters **DVMNO** are very distinct between two lines across a wreath of rectangular leaves running in opposite directions from the centre of the coin.

This nearly corresponds with the obverse of Evans, Plate XVII, No. 3, which represents a gold coin weighing 83·4 grains, and also with the obverses of two similar gold coins weighing 79 and 83 grains respectively, which are in the cabinet of Sir John Evans.

Reverse.—Concave: the legend **TIGIR** is over a peculiarly shaped horse moving to the right with open mouth in the shape of a horizontal <, the arms of which end in pellets; the apex of the triangle forming the mouth is prolonged before it reaches the pellet which represents the eye of the horse.

This feature is not well shown in the illustration. The horse's forelegs are peculiar, and consist of Vs with the apices downwards; at each apex is a pellet constituting the knee; the outer arms of the two Vs are prolonged over the chest of the horse, giving the impression that two horse-collars are carried by the animal, viz., one at the juncture of the neck in the usual position and the other round the commencement of the trunk, just behind, where the front legs are attached. The hind-legs are also characteristic; one, the right or off leg, is well shaped and thickened, whilst the other, the left or near leg, is represented by a fine curved line. The tail is thin with a pellet below it. There are three pellets below the horse's neck. In front of and below the horse are traces of letters which cannot be deciphered. The legend **TIGIR**, as far as the letter **R**, is more distinct than in the similar legend on the reverse of Evans, Plate XVII, No. 3, but the

shape of the horse, especially the head, is very different, and it is moving in the opposite direction. The same remark applies to the two gold coins inscribed with TIGIR in Sir John Evans's cabinet, impressions of which he kindly sent me (see Nos. 1 and 2 in plate). This silver coin is apparently unique, as it is very different from the four silver coins of the Yorkshire Prince Dumnovellaunos which were described in the Honley find already mentioned. Those coins have on the obverse (convex side) the legend VOLISIOS in two rows marked by three parallel lines, and on the reverse or concave side, the legend DVMNOVE in a more or less complete form, arranged above, in front of and below a horse moving to the right; they weigh 8, 8.2, 7 and 8 grains respectively, whilst this specimen from the South Ferriby find, although somewhat mutilated, weighs 12 grains. It is in my cabinet. Plate, No. 10.

No. 11. The only other inscribed silver coin found at Ferriby is of fairly good metal, and weighs 6.8 grains.

Obverse.—Convex: faint traces of a wreath of rectangular billet-shaped leaves running across the coin.

Reverse.—Concave: a horse moving to the left with the head off the coin; there is a peculiar arrangement of the forelegs which have the portions above the knees looped together and bifurcated; above the horse are the letters AVN; the V and the N are very distinct, but the A can just be made out; below the letters is a pellet; beneath the neck is the letter T, and there is an indistinct letter, ? N, between the front and hind-legs. Plate, No. 11, P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.

This reverse exactly corresponds with the reverse of a small silver coin in the Hunter Collection at Glasgow. See the *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection at Glasgow* by George Macdonald, vol. iii, Plate CII, No. 8, page 730, where the following description is given: "*obverse*, convex, plain; *reverse*, AVN above a horse galloping to the left; beneath letters: see *The Coins of the Ancient Britons*, page 414. I cannot regard the T as at all certain; weight 14.4 grains."

Sir John Evans has kindly allowed me to illustrate as No. 12, a third silver coin reading AVN from his own cabinet, which he has not

yet had an opportunity of publishing : he does not know where it was found. It is of good silver, weighing 16·4 grains, and represented on the Plate for comparison.

Obverse.—Convex : plain.

Reverse.—Concave : a horse moving to the left with the head, except for the lower jaw, off the coin ; little of the forelegs appears on the coin, but what is visible, presents the same peculiar arrangement as in the other two *AVN* coins ; the rat-like tail and hind-legs are of equal thickness, and the whole design of the coin is of coarser workmanship than in the South Ferriby specimen. Above the horse are the letters *AVN* with a large pellet below the *V*. Beneath the tail is a crescent ending in a pellet, which I would describe as the letter *6*, although Sir John Evans writes, "I am by no means sure that the object below the tail of the horse is the letter *6*." Plate No. 12.

Judging from the weights and size, the South Ferriby coin is apparently meant to be only one-half the value of that of the Glasgow and Sir John Evans's specimens, which weigh more than double.

In Plate XVII, No. 8, Sir John Evans gives a brass coin weighing 69 grains which has on the obverse a wreath, etc., and on the reverse the letters *AVN* above the horse and a *T* beneath the horse's body and not under the neck as in the two silver specimens ; he did not know where it was found, but that he attributed it correctly to the Yorkshire district is proved by this South Ferriby specimen. The provenance of the Glasgow coin is also unknown. I can give no explanation of the letters *AVN-T*, which must remain a puzzle for future numismatists to solve.

No. 13. A silver coin weighing 17·2 grains of good silver and in very perfect preservation.

Obverse.—Convex : plain.

Reverse.—Concave : a horse with peculiar head and legs moving to the right ; the head is formed by two *Vs* joined at their apices by a large pellet ; the diverging arms of the lower *V* each end in a smaller pellet to form the open mouth, while the arms of the upper *V* constitute the ears ; the upper portions of the forelegs are also composed of *Vs* with the apices below, while the distal arm of each of these *Vs* is continued across the horse's thorax to meet on the back where the neck joins the trunk, as if two horse-collars

were worn, one in the usual place at the juncture of the neck and the other round the trunk just behind the forelegs. Above the horse is a rosette of seven pellets. There is an indication of the rat-like tail, which is better seen in No. 14. Plate, No. 13, *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton*.

This coin exhibits a type of horse which must be considered special to the Yorkshire district, as the five coins in the Honley find present a similar arrangement of the forelegs and the double horse-collar effect, which is very evident in the plate illustrating Mr. G. F. Hill's paper.

No. 14. A silver coin weighing 17·1 grains, of fairly good metal, which is exactly similar to No. 13, except that while less of the horse's head is shown, the legs and tail are better displayed. The two coins weigh almost the same, there being only one-tenth of a grain in difference.

Obverse.—Convex : plain.

Reverse.—Concave : a horse with curved rat-like tail moving to the right with the same peculiar head as on No. 13, the large open mouth being formed by the two diverging arms of a V ending in pellets, a large pellet forming the head or eye ; the upper portions of the front legs consist of widely open Vs with the apices downwards. Above the horse, a rosette of pellets and a single pellet below the tail. Plate, No. 14, *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton*.

No. 15. A silver coin weighing 17·2 grains, of fairly good silver, which has been fractured and mended.

Obverse.—Convex : plain.

Reverse.—Concave : the same peculiar horse as on Nos. 13 and 14, with the double horse-collar effect very distinct, but instead of the rosette above the horse, there is a beaded ring ornament with a pellet in the centre. The head of the horse is indistinct, but there are two pellets below the rat-like tail. Plate, No. 15, *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton*.

No. 16 is the much-worn fragment of a silver coin of base metal weighing 8·5 grains, which is similar to No. 13.

Obverse.—Convex : plain.

Reverse.—Concave : the peculiar horse moving to the right as on No. 13 and with the rosette of seven pellets above it. Plate, No. 16, *Thomas Sheppard*.

No. 17. A silver coin weighing 6·6 grains of good silver.

Obverse.—Convex : plain.

Reverse.—Concave : a horse with rat-like tail moving to the right ; head not shown owing to the design being too close to the edge of the coin, although the lower jaw can just be discerned ; the upper ends of the forelegs are V-shaped and the knees are each represented by a pellet at the apex of the V. Above the horse is a portion of a ring ornament, the circumference consisting of pellets joined by lines ; there are two pellets below the tail and three, in the form of a triangle, below the horse's trunk. The double horse-collar effect is present as in No. 13. Plate, No. 17, *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.*

No. 18. A silver coin of impure metal weighing 7·1 grains, which has been fractured and mended.

Obverse.—Convex : plain.

Reverse.—Concave : very similar to that of No. 17, but with the horse's V-shaped mouth shown. As in No. 17 there is a triangle of pellets below the horse, and the double horse-collar effect is present. Plate, No. 18, *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.*

No. 19. A silver coin of fairly good metal weighing 6·4 grains, which has been fractured and mended.

Obverse.—Convex : plain.

Reverse.—Concave : a horse moving to the right similar to that of No. 17, except that a series of elongated pellets represent the mane ; above the horse is a small beaded ring ornament, and below the rat-like tail there is only one pellet instead of two. Plate, No. 19, *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.*

No. 20. A silver coin weighing 6·4 grains of good metal.

Obverse.—Convex : plain.

Reverse.—Concave : a horse moving to the right, head off the coin ; above the horse, rosette, presumably of seven pellets but two of which are invisible ; front legs absent ; two pellets below the long rat-like tail. This coin is similar, as far as it is visible, to No. 13, but it is scarcely more than one-third its weight. Plate, No. 20, *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.*

No. 21. A silver coin weighing 18·7 grains of good metal.

Obverse.—Convex : the trunk and hind-quarters of an animal, probably a boar, moving to the right, with a ring ornament above the tail and

a truncated crescent ending in a bird-like beak above the animal. A large annulet is behind the legs, which are slender and slightly curved forward.

Reverse.—Concave: a peculiarly shaped horse with very high flanks and rat-like tail, moving to the right; the head and neck are very indistinct, but the open mouth can just be traced. Above the horse is a portion of a large ring ornament and below a smaller ring ornament. The forelegs are composed, as far as they are visible, of two triangles with the apex of each ending in a pellet, as in No. 13. Plate, No. 21, *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton*.

This coin is like some of those of the Iceni of the Eastern Counties, but the horse's head is similar to those which are attributed to the Yorkshire district.

No. 22. A silver coin weighing 7·7 grains of impure metal, with a piece broken off above the horse.

Obverse.—Convex: plain.

Reverse.—Concave: a horse moving to the left; its head is off the coin, but the mane is represented by a slender crescent; above the horse is a beaded ring ornament with a pellet above, and there are two pellets below the rat-like tail. This is similar to No. 17, except that the horse is moving in the opposite direction. Plate, No. 22, *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton*.

No. 23. A silver coin weighing 8·6 grains of good metal, which has been fractured and mended, very similar to No. 12, showing on the reverse the same kind of mane; with beaded ring ornament above the horse; the double horse-collar effect is very distinct. Plate, No. 23, *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton*.

No. 24. A silver coin weighing 6·4 grains, much broken and mended.

Obverse.—Convex: plain.

Reverse.—Concave: a horse moving to the left but very much off the coin; the peculiar V-shaped mouth is indicated, and if more of the design were visible, it would probably be similar to Nos. 22 and 23. Plate, No. 24, *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton*.

No. 25. A coin, much corroded or burnt, of impure metal, presumably silver, weighing 7·6 grains.

Obverse.—Convex: plain.

Reverse.—Concave: a horse moving to the left with the peculiar V-shaped upper portions of the front legs and V-shaped mouth. Above the horse is a portion of a rosette of pellets, or beaded ring ornament. This is similar to No. 13, but the horse is moving in the opposite direction. Plate, No. 25, *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton*.

No. 26. A copper, or very base silver, coin which has been mended, weighing 7.5 grains.

Obverse.—Convex: plain.

Reverse.—Concave: a horse moving to the left with the peculiar V-shaped mouth and ears, and the V-shaped upper forelegs; a rosette of seven pellets above the horse and two pellets below the rat-like tail. This coin is very similar to Nos. 13 and 14, except that the horse is moving to the left instead of to the right. Plate, No. 26, *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton*.

No. 27. A silver coin weighing 11.7 grains of good metal, but a piece is broken off.

Obverse.—Convex: a well-formed boar moving to the right with the ridge of the back composed of a continuous series of twelve pellets on bristles; the ear and snout are well indicated; the upper portions of the front legs are composed of Vs with the apices downwards, the knees being indicated by pellets; above the tail, which is curved upwards, is a ring ornament enclosing two pellets; above the animal are two beaded crescents with the horns downwards, and two pellets between and above them; there is also a portion of a ring ornament enclosing two pellets above the boar's snout.

Reverse.—Concave: a fairly good representation of a horse prancing to the left, with a mane fringed with a series of ten pellets similar to the back ridge of the boar on the obverse; above the horse is a small ring ornament enclosing two pellets, and above that again, a beaded open crescent curved towards the horse. The horse's head is well shaped with the mouth closed and the eye indicated by a pellet; the ears are represented by two diverging ovals each nearly as large as the rest of the head; the tail, which is rat-like and curved downwards, has above it a peculiar object composed of two large horns above three small prominences. There are two S-shaped objects in front of the horse's head and the upper portions of the forelegs are V-shaped with the apices downwards. Plate, No. 27, *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton*.

This coin most resembles Evans, Plate XVI, No. 12, but in that illustration the bristles on the ridge of the boar's back do not end in

pellets, and the ornaments on both obverse and reverse are quite different ; this coin is attributed by Sir John Evans to the Icenii of the Eastern district. The ring ornaments, each enclosing two pellets, are, I believe, unrecorded.

No. 28. A coin which has apparently lost about one-fourth of its area, of very impure metal, but seemingly of base silver and weighing 9·3 grains.

Obverse.—Convex: a boar moving to the right with the ridge of the back composed of long straight bristles placed close together, but without pellets as in *No. 27*; under the animal is a reversed S-shaped line; above the rat-like tail is a plain ring; the front legs are composed of single columns both above and below the pellet representing the knee, and the advanced hind-leg is similar. Above the boar is a portion of a rosette ornament.

Reverse.—Concave: a well-modelled horse prancing to the left; its fore-legs and one of the hind-legs are bifurcated above the knees and hocks. The mane of the horse is composed of seven or eight wavy lines; above are portions of a plain ring and of a beaded ring; below is a ring ornament. This is very like *No. 27*, but the boar's back ridge and the horse's mane have a different treatment. Plate, *No. 28*, *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton*.

Apparently the only unpublished specimen amongst the seven gold coins is *No. 7*, where the bird-like half-horse without its hind-quarters on the reverse may be the result of accident in striking.

No. 6 is interesting in adding another specimen to the hitherto unique Evans, Plate K, *No. 11*, which was also found at South Ferriby; it is also more complete in showing the triangle of three pellets below the horse's tail and in giving more details of the curved tribrach.

As previously remarked, the chief interest of this remarkable find centres in the eighteen silver coins, nearly every one of which merits some study. Until now, only five silver coins have been attributed to the Yorkshire district, and several of those I have just described appear to be of types which have hitherto been unknown to numismatists.

No. 10, the silver coin of the Yorkshire prince Dumnovellaunos, is unique both as to obverse and reverse. It is strange that this silver coin weighs only 12 grains, although it may have weighed 16 or 18 grains in its perfect state, and that the silver coins found at Honley scale only from 7 to 8·3 grains, while the corresponding gold coins weigh upwards of 79 or 80 grains. Can the explanation be that silver was equal to or of greater value than gold amongst the ancient Britons of the Yorkshire district? The double horse-collar effect which is peculiar to nearly all these silver coins is well shown in this specimen. I can offer no explanation of the legend **TIGIR**.

No. 12. The **AVN** coin enables us to confirm the attribution of the only two other known specimens to the Yorkshire district; those coins weigh 16·4 and 14·4 grains respectively, as compared with the 6·8 grains of this.

Of the uninscribed silver coins, Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20, are all more or less similar, with plain obverses or convexities and weigh respectively, 17·2, 17·1, 17·2, 8·5 (a fragment), 6·6, 7·1, 6·4 and 6·4 grains. The smaller coins, evidently, were intended to represent one-half or one-third of the value of the larger. They all have on the reverse the strangely shaped horse moving to the right; its head is composed of two Vs joined at the apices by a pellet, forming the widely open mouth and the long divergent ears; the thorax is ornamented by the double horse-collar effect in connection with the upper portions of the forelegs which are bifurcated or composed of triangles with the apices forming the knees. On Nos. 13, 14, 16 and 20, there is a rosette of pellets above the horse, which is replaced by a beaded ring ornament on Nos. 15, 17 and 19. On Nos. 14 and 19, there is one pellet below the horse's tail, and on Nos. 15, 17 and 20 two pellets in the same position. There is a triangle of three pellets below the horse on Nos. 17 and 18.

No. 21, which weighs 18·7 grains and is the heaviest of all the silver coins, has on the obverse a portion of the trunk and hind-quarters of some animal, with, on the reverse, the peculiar horse with ring ornaments above and below it.

Nos. 22, 23 and 24, weighing 7·7, 8·6 and 6·4 grains respectively,

are similar coins to No. 17 except that the horse is moving to the left and that its mane is more or less indicated.

Nos. 25 and 26, weighing 7·6 and 7·5 grains respectively, are similar to Nos. 13 and 14, except that the horse is moving to the left instead of to the right.

Nos. 27 and 28, weighing 11·7 and 9·3 grains respectively, are very different from all the other silver coins in this find, and are also of a new type; the ring ornaments enclosing two pellets on the obverse and reverse of No. 27 are peculiar to that specimen. The horses on the reverses of these two coins are quite different to the usual type, having ordinary heads and closed mouths.

Nos. 21 and 27 have "a curiously Icenian appearance," to use the words of Sir John Evans, to whom I am indebted for much kind assistance in the preparation of this paper. He not only lent me his four specimens from South Ferriby, but was good enough to read my manuscript and to offer me suggestions of which I gladly availed myself. I wish also to thank Mr. Thomas Sheppard, the Curator of the Hull Museum, for his interesting notes about the original gatherer of this remarkable collection, and of the locality of the South Ferriby find.

A FIND OF ROMAN BRONZE COINS ON THE LITTLE ORME'S HEAD, NORTH WALES.

BY WILLIAM SHARP OGDEN.

IT is distinctly unfortunate, especially from a numismatic point of view, that finds of ancient coins should generally fall to those least competent to appreciate their value and interest.

Chance is too frequently the irresponsible administrator of antiquity; what time has spared, or forgotten, she distributes with fantastic irrelevance, denying to the savant that which she casts unasked and unvalued to the wielder of the mattock and spade, whose rudimentary commercialism is probably the chief let or stay to dispersal or destruction.

The find now to be described was in some respects, perhaps, a little more fortunate than most of its kind, inasmuch as it was for many years carefully preserved and almost unknown, except to its discoverer, and presumably intact, until, without examination and unvalued, it passed at his death to a near relative, shortly afterwards to be sold to a dealer in Manchester and there divided and dispersed.

The Little Orme, the site of the find, is a rocky headland about 400 feet above sea level on the north coast of Wales. It is in the county of Carnarvon, adjacent to the Great Orme, which is nearly 700 feet high; and a little south of both is Pen-maen-mawr, rising to 1,500 feet. The modern town of Llandudno lies in a hollow between the Great and Little Orme, commanded by the rock-crowned citadel of Pen-y-Ddinas, the summit of which still retains remarkable evidence of the walls and pit dwellings of the ancient British city.

The Roman military road from DEVA, Chester, to SEGONTIVM, Carnarvon, was three stages in length, nearly sixty miles; but although

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the Itinerary gives the names of the intermediary stations of VARIS and KANOVIVM, the exact line of route is still a matter of uncertainty.

The site of VARIS or VARAE the first station from DEVA is not yet absolutely determined, some authorities are inclined to identify it with Caerwys, a small town near St. Asaph. Caerwys is mentioned in Domesday book as a fortified site or Caer, its streets run north and south and are set at right angles quite on the Roman plan. Many remains of the period have been found there, and the name Caerwys is very possibly a colloquial variant of CAER-VARIS. Other authorities identify the station with a site near the river at Bodfari (vari-varis) in the Vale of Clwyd. These places, which are about five miles apart, are both traversed by the Roman road which here sweeps around the base of a lofty hill. Probably the British city was upon this hill, but on the advent of the Roman station it would be transferred to the more convenient site by the highway.

KANOVIVM, the second stage, is identified with Caerhun, about four miles south of Conway. The original name is generally rendered as Conovium, but I have preferred the name as given on the Roman *milliarium* of the time of Hadrian, which was found on the route.

SEGONTIVM, the modern Carnarvon and capital of the district, the third stage, is a little over twenty miles to the south-west. There the Emperor Constantius Chlorus is said to have had a favourite residence, and Nennius—writing in the ninth century in his *History of the Britons*—says, “he died in Britain, his sepulchre as it appears by the inscription on his tomb is still seen near the city of Cair-Segont” (Carnarvon). The entire district was known in pre-Roman times as ARFON or ARVON, hence its chief town is Carnarvon, but its Roman name is still traceable in that of the river Seiont beneath its walls. It was the country of the Cangiani, a tribe of the British Ordovices, but the Romans renamed it “Britannia Secunda,” and stationed the XXth Legion at DEVA, whence probably were apportioned the garrisons of North Wales.

The Little Orme presents a precipitate face to the sea and sloping inland to the south falls from about 400 to 23 feet. Between the

Little Orme and the range of hills running from Bryn Maelgion to Mynydd Pentre, an ancient road leads through a narrow pass into the hollow between the two Ormes where Llandudno lies, and if not a main Roman military way it was undoubtedly a loop or branch road to the native settlements and the copper mines on the Great Orme.

At the foot of this pass immediately opposite the site of the find, and close to the road, there stands a large farm-house and buildings of very ancient foundation, known as Penrhyn and formerly the manor house of a village which surrounded it.

Incorporated with the farm buildings is a desecrated but most interesting thirteenth-century chapel of plain but good style, with lancet windows and arched roof principals. The east window is perfect, the wall beneath shows where the altar has been torn away, and the altar slab itself, still showing traces where the five crosses have been tooled out, now serves as the top stone of a horse block in front of the house. A comparatively small outlay would rescue this most interesting little sanctuary from its present ignoble condition and place it in sound repair. It is not more than thirty yards from the highway and could be readily detached from the other buildings—*verb. sap.*

This chapel is sufficient evidence of the great antiquity of the road, and there are architectural features in its masonry which suggest that it may possibly have replaced, or partly embodied in its structure, a building of even much earlier foundation.

The narrow pass, the chief if not only way to the Ormes from the east, is traditionally the site of many sanguinary conflicts, and adjacent, at the top of the defile, is a hill known as Bryn-y-Bia, *i.e.*, the hill of the arrows.

The Ormes are full of ancient workings for copper, and the Britons and Romans would almost of necessity use this road instead of the highway to KANOVIVM on account of its convenience. The frequent "finds" of coins and other relics along this route are also not without significance.

The remarkable find in the early part of this year, 1907, of a bronze vessel containing several hundred bronze coins of the British

Emperor Carausius was in this pass, and barely a quarter of a mile away. Curiously enough, the find was made under almost identical conditions, viz., widening and lowering the old road. Fortunately the bulk of these coins are in the possession of Mr. Willoughby Gardner, of Deganwy, who is preparing a full description for the pages of *The British Numismatic Journal*.

It was by the side of this ancient road, which at this point seems to show traces of having at a remote period been slightly diverted from its original course, and near a farm which has been tenanted for centuries by a family of the name of Owen, that one of them about the year 1873 made the discovery of the find I am about to describe whilst altering the level of the road. The nephew of the finder, who afterwards inherited and sold the hoard, informed me that when discovered the jar containing the coins was surrounded by very old masonry, presumed at the time to be Roman, comprising wrought stones and walling. Whilst this was in process of removal there was unearthed a large one-handled jar of reddish pottery, containing what they considered was a corroded mass of bronze coins, but which, now that they have been separated and carefully cleaned, prove to be a remarkable gathering of over 5,000 Roman Æ 2 and 3, all of British and Gaulish mints, finely preserved and of great variety of type and detail.

The jar was somewhat pear-shaped, about 15 inches high and 24 inches in girth, being widest in the upper part below the neck, which was very narrow and flanged a little outwards to the rim; upon the upper part of the jar was a glaze of dull-yellowish colour. Since the first sale of the find the jar has disappeared, but this description, given by the original vendor, is confirmed by the independent evidence of others who saw it, and so may be taken as substantially correct.

The coins when they first came under my notice about the year 1902 and soon after their first transfer, then approximated 5,000 in number, as several small parcels had already been dispersed. All were coated with a loose green oxide which, however, readily yielded to a mild chemical treatment which left the coins in their original condition, quite clean and sharp as struck. Few showed

signs of actual wear, worn dies and careless striking being responsible for most of the defective pieces; none were overstruck, all being apparently impressed upon specially prepared flans, and the large proportion were well struck and in almost mint condition. The majority were early issues of Constantinus Maximus; a few were $\text{Æ} 2$, but the bulk were $\text{Æ} 3$, and varied greatly both in size, weight and workmanship.

As I had not the opportunity of minutely examining the entire find I had to then content myself with a liberal selection, but later, when the whole of the coins were carefully cleaned I was fortunately able to acquire about one-fourth of the entire find, comprising nearly all of those of which there were only single specimens, or which were desirable from their special state of preservation, or as giving charming varieties of type and portraiture.

The coins, as previously remarked, are entirely of British and Gaulish mints, namely, in the proportion of three to two and, with the exception of one class, all the British are of the London mint, Richborough being regarded as the other British mint.

The enormous output of the London mint at the period A.D. 305-310 when probably the gathering was made, may be inferred from the difficulty of obtaining even two or three pieces actually struck from one pair of dies. After comparison of several hundreds of these coins of exactly the same type, many types of both $\text{Æ} 2$ and 3 proved to be represented by single or very few pieces, mostly exceptionally fine, and curiously enough the majority of them of British mintage.

The Gaulish section is from the mints of Treves, Lyons and Arles. The coins are similar in type and workmanship to the British, but the work of the *monetarii* is generally better, and from a certain neatness of work and lettering on some of the types it seems probable that the same engravers may have worked for several mints.

The interest with which we regard all Roman coins found in this country is deepened when their British origin is shown by the place of mintage; and as the British portion of this find is roughly estimated to yield about 3,000 examples, comprising many types with numerous

variants, of each of several emperors, we may regard it as an important addition to British numismatics.

It is conjectured that the site of discovery marks a Roman station commanding the eastern entrance to the pass, and that the find was the military chest. Some colour is given to this idea from the fact that it was found amidst masonry believed to be Roman and purposely deposited. A sudden onslaught of the Britons, usual to the period and district, may have overwhelmed the station and consigned its treasure to oblivion.

On the other hand, when the unusual character of the find is considered, the fine condition of the coins, the numerous types and other more numerous varieties of each, and the fact that a large proportion were of only one or two pieces, it may not be altogether inexcusable to regard the hoard as possibly the pecuniary gathering of some enquiring and well-to-do Cymry, who deferred its disposal or expenditure until too late a day.

In this connection it *may* be that Penrhyn manor represents the survival of an original Cymrian settlement of which he was a member, and the masonry the foundation of his dwelling.

The following emperors are represented :—

				Mints.
Maximianus Hercules	...	...	A.D. 292–305	B. G.
Constantius Chlorus	...	...	„ 292–306	B. G.
Carausius, Britain	...	...	„ 287–293	B.
Allectus „	...	...	„ 293–296	B.
Maximinus Daza	...	...	„ 305–313	B. G.
Licinius I.	...	...	„ 307–324	B. G.
Constantinus Maximus	...	...	„ 306–337	B. G.

The British section of two mints supplies twenty-two distinct types Æ 2 and 3, and of these there are one hundred and thirty-nine varieties, of which sixty-eight are represented by only one piece of each and twenty-one by two pieces.

The three mints of the Gaulish section furnish ten distinct types, Æ 2 and 3, all of which are similar to the British; of these seven types there are one hundred and fifteen varieties, sixty-four being represented by but one piece each, and eleven by two pieces.

This gives a total for all mints of two hundred and fifty-four great and small varieties which are duly noted in the appended list. They comprise: first, the imperial bust, its position to right or left, notable variations of dress, inscription, titles, etc.: second, the position and accessories of the Deity, Genius, etc., on the reverse, the epigraph and other lettering, the mint readings and its issues: but the extraordinary variations in weight, noted in the list, are not treated as "variations."

The coins of Constantine comprise about two-thirds of the find and are of his earlier issues. They display remarkable variety, and many are of excellent design and work. Licinius I. follows next in number, his coins varying much in size and quality, and generally being of somewhat inferior work. The other five emperors are only sparsely represented, there being but one piece of Carausius and two of Allectus.

A few of the coins of most of the emperors and of both Britain and Gaul, Æ 2 and 3, bear traces of tin or silver washing; but as others of exactly the same type are plain, there seems to have been no strict rule for its application, the washing also must have been of slight character, as it has almost disappeared on coins that are practically uncirculated.

The find may be readily divided into two sections, British and Gaulish, the mints are clearly defined, and with a few exceptions every piece may be allocated to its place of origin.

The British section commences with fine well spread Æ 2 of Maximianus Hercules of the *Genio populi Romani* type, and one, Æ 3, of the three-standard type, *SPQR.*, etc., all being of excellent work.

Constantius Chlorus has also Æ 2 of similar quality of the *Memoriæ Felix* type, with altar and two eagles: the obverse gives a fine dignified portrait, veiled and laureated. There was only one of this piece in the find.

Of Carausius there is only one coin, a carelessly struck piece of the *Pax* type.

Allectus is represented solely by two pieces, each Æ 3, and of unusually good work: one reverse displays a female figure holding

a wreath and anchor, with the epigraph **LAETITIA AVG**, the other **PROVIDENTIA AVG**, of the usual type.

Of Maximinus Daza there are $\text{Æ} 2$ and $\text{Æ} 3$. The first are solely of the *Genio* type, the $\text{Æ} 3$ are of the *Genio* and *Soli Invicto* types : these pieces are of bold but rather coarser work than the specimens of the preceding emperors.

Of Licinius I., or *Pater*, there are only $\text{Æ} 3$, but his coins are very numerous and exhibit many curious variations : the work, generally, is similar to that of the coins of Maximinus, and the likeness of the emperor appears to be well expressed : the types are the *Genio*, *Comiti* and *Soli Invicto*, the latter with various attributes. One piece, of the *Genio* type, has the bust reversed and draped with a rich pallium. In quality and fabric the coins of Licinius vary considerably.

Constantinus Maximus is excellently represented in both $\text{Æ} 2$ and $\text{Æ} 3$. Generally the coins are of good work, some pieces being remarkably fine in both design and fabric. This, together with the numerous types and varieties represented, and their generally fine preservation, render them the most interesting and instructive portion of the find.

The $\text{Æ} 2$ are of the *Genio*, *Marti pro pug* and *Principi Juventutis* types : some bear quite youthful portraits and probably excellent likenesses, whilst all are well spread coins of good work.

The $\text{Æ} 3$ are of the *Principi Juventutis*, *Adventus Aug-N*, *Virt Exercit Gall*, *Romae Aeternae*, *SPQR Optimo*, etc., *Concord Milit*, *Securitas*, *Marti Conservatori*, *Marti Pacif*, *Genio*, *Comiti*, and *Soli Invicto* types : some of the latter having reverse bearing the radiate bust of Sol. Other types worthy of note are : The *Principi Juventutis*, the reverse of which gives the youthful emperor standing between two ensigns, or walking to right or left armed with spear and orb : the obverse bust is laureated or bears a richly decorated helm also laureated. Some of the busts also have spear and shield of diverse patterns. The *Virt Exercit Gall* type supplies one piece only, the obverse showing the emperor wearing a radiate crown.

The *Adventus Aug-N* type includes a reverse with the emperor on horseback and the *Romae Aet Aug*, has Roma seated, both with

laureated busts. The entire find only provided two pieces of the *Adventus* and three of the *Romae*, all varied, and all in mint state. The *Concord Milit* type also furnishes variants of interest: the reverse gives the *genius* or goddess as bearing ensigns in each hand; the obverse having the imperial bust laureated, or with helmet laureated, or covered with the radiate crown, or richly plumed crest. These three last carry spear and shield, and there was only one of each in the find.

The *Marti Conservatori* is another type fertile of variations; in some the reverse has the figure of Mars fully armed, other reverses bear the bust of Mars only. Of the former, the obverse has the imperial bust laureated, or helmeted, with spear and shield.

The *Marti pacif* type has a reverse bearing the figure of Mars fully armed, running to the left and holding an olive branch.

The *Comiti Augg-N-N* type has a reverse of Sol with orb and whip, whilst the varieties of its obverse show the emperor laureated, or with richly decorated helmet, and with or without spear and shield.

Two varieties may be of an inaugural character and are of very fine work: the obverse of each bears a youthful bust laureated, wearing a richly ornamented pallium and eagle-surmounted sceptre. The inscription is *CONSTANTINVS P · AVG* and the reverses are of the *Comiti Augg-N-N* and *Principi Juventutis* types. There is only one of each variety in the find.

The *Genio populi Romani* type furnished many pieces but few varieties, and these are more of weight, fabric and quality than pattern.

The *Soli Invicto Comiti* type is also numerous represented, the reverse bearing the figure of Sol radiated with right arm raised and in the left hand the orb or whip, or both. The obverse has the emperor's bust, helmeted and laureated, and bears spear and shield. The inscription on these pieces is merely *CONSTANTINVS · AVG*: others have the bust laureated and wearing a cuirass or paludamentum. Some of these give the full title *IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG*: whilst others are inscribed as on the varieties with the armed bust. The type varies

very much in quality of work, but the portraiture is excellent throughout : the weights are perplexing, ranging from 38 gs. in the smallest, to 86 gs. in the largest, with intermediate variations of from only a few grains each, yet all are of the London mint and most are in mint condition.

In general character some of the above have such a close resemblance in treatment and work to those of the chief Gaulish mints of Treves and Lyons that they may be the work of designers and die-sinkers from those places. Others, however, have a character of their own and are quite distinct in feeling and treatment. Some display artistic qualities that place them in the front rank of the coinage of the time, a circumstance especially interesting, as they are undoubtedly from the Roman mint of London.

The Gaulish section commences also, like the British, with the reign of Maximianus Hercules, and of this emperor we have three fine $\text{Æ } 2$ and $\text{Æ } 3$ from the Treves mint. One is of the ordinary *Genio pop. Rom.* type, but the other two pieces, *Quies Aug* and *Conservatores Urbis suae*, are of considerable historical interest from their being issued at, and having reference to, a momentous period of the empire, namely, the abdication or retirement of the joint Emperors Diocletian and Maximianus Hercules in the year 305 in favour of their sons and relatives, Galerius and Constantius Chlorus, and Severus II. and Maximinus Daza. It was to record the twenty years of prosperous rule of the joint emperors that the piece with the epigraph *Quies Aug* was issued. It bears a figure of Peace holding the *hasta* and olive branch ; similar pieces were also issued with the portrait and titles of Diocletian.

Two years later, A.D. 307, Maximian endeavoured to regain control of the empire owing to the discord of the contending factions of his successors ; he is said to have resumed the quality of emperor at the request of his son Maxentius, but he was soon driven from Rome and took refuge with his son-in-law Constantinus in Gaul. During the absence of that prince, in A.D. 309, he again endeavoured to resume the imperatorship, but failing, he was put to death in the next year.

The other piece bearing the epigraph *Conservatores Urbis suae*, appears to have been issued during this final attempt at sovereignty. It has the full imperial titles, whilst the resignatory piece has merely the name and honorary distinctions. It also has a representation of the Temple of Roma, with a figure of the goddess seated in front, whilst the epigraph is expressive that the empire was consigned to the emperor's care for safety and preservation. All are of good work, and the find only supplied one of each of the three types. The last is of the third issue, showing that the output must have been considerable.

Constantius Chlorus is represented by only one piece from the Gallic mints—a fine Æ 2 of the B. issue of Treves: it is of the *Genio populi Romani* type, and, being inscribed *CONSTANTIVS · NOBIL · C*, is probably one of his earliest coins. This also is a single piece.

Maximinus Daza is represented by Æ 2 and 3 of *Genio pop. Rom.* and Æ 3 of *Soli Invicto* types, the Æ 2 only being of good work. All bear the imperial bust laureated and cuirassed or paludated.

Of Licinius I., *Pater*, there are only Æ 3: these are of the *Genio* and *Soli Invicto* types, the busts being laureated and cuirassed or paludated. They vary considerably in size and weight, whilst much of the work is rather coarse and the likeness not always well preserved.

As in the case of the British section, the large proportion belongs to Constantinus Maximus, who is represented by Æ 2 and 3, which are generally of excellent quality, especially those from the mints of Treves and Lyons. The Æ 2 are of the *Principi Juventutis*, *Genio populi Romani* and *Marti patri pro pugnatori* types: the first bears the emperor holding a standard surmounted by an eagle in each hand: the obverse give a very youthful bust, laureated and cuirassed. The *Genio* type has varieties of a similar but older bust, some bear the paludamentum. The two first types are of excellent work and are well spread, heavy pieces in almost mint condition. The *Marti* type is of small fabric for an Æ 2, but appears to belong to this size from the proportion of the figures of obverse and reverse: it is of the Lyons mint, but of inferior work. As is the case with the British Æ 2, all these pieces are very few in number, and no two are from the same dies.

The Æ 3 are of the *Marti conservatori*, *Genio pop. Rom.*, *S·P·Q·R optimo Principi*, and *Soli invicto* types. In quality of work, fabric and weight they vary even more than do those of British make; those of Treves and Lyons are generally of very good work, a few of each being really excellent.

The *Marti conservatori* type has reverse of Mars armed, looking forwards or backwards: the obverse bust is cuirassed or paludated.

Of the *Genio pop. Rom.* type there are but few examples, and as these are of the ordinary kind they call for no remark, other than that they are of generally inferior work.

A type of remarkable character, but of very poor work, is that bearing three standards or ensigns on the reverse with the epigraph *S·P·Q·R· Optimo Principi*; the pieces, few in number, have the busts cuirassed or paludated.

The Æ 3 of the *Principi Juventutis* are greatly inferior in quality to the Æ 2 of that type, otherwise they are similar and call for no remark. The type most numerous and best represented in Æ 3, is that of the *Soli Invicto Comiti*. Probably this is owing to the predilection of Constantine for this deity. Almost without exception the work is of all-round excellence. The reverse bears a figure of Sol radiated, looking forward or with head reversed, the right hand raised, the left holding the orb. The obverse busts are cuirassed or paludated, or both; a variety is also draped with the pallium.

The pieces vary in weight to a remarkable extent; those of Britain give Æ 2 from 92 gs. to 138 gs., whilst the Æ 3 run from 38 gs. to 103 gs.

The Gaulish pieces give Æ 2 from 92 gs. to 129 gs., one weighing 184 gs. is probably a "piedfort." The Æ 3 run from 33 gs. to 98 gs. From this it will be seen that the heaviest of the Æ 3 of both countries exceeds the lightest of the Æ 2. Notwithstanding this it is quite easy to discriminate the two sizes as the Æ 3 supply intermediates varying only a few grains each.

From the above details it will be seen that the find is of unusual

variety and interest; many pieces, also, are remarkable from the designs or fine quality of work. These and the excellent preservation of almost all, together with their practically uncirculated state, enable us to see that the production of the British mint at London was quite equal in quality to that of the best Roman, or colonial mints of the period: and further, that the coins of Constantinus Maximus altogether, are of a higher quality than those of the immediately preceding or succeeding emperors.

The subsignations may be most conveniently considered together: all are invariably in the exergue, and run as follows:—

BRITAIN.—London and possibly Richborough.

GAVL.—Treves, the chief mint, Lyons and Arles.

The mint of London is variously rendered in the subsignation as PLON or PLN, *Pecunia Londinensis*, MLN, *Moneta Londinensis*, MSL, *Moneta Signata Londinensis*, and MLL, *Moneta legionis? Londinensis*. The majority of these pieces have the letters TF, FT, SF, SP, and SM in the field, others have a star in addition, or the star alone, they have no apparent connection with the epigraph and are common to most of the types.

Of the presumed mint of Richborough, RVTVPIAE, we have the following subsignations: RP, RS, RT, and RQ which are evidently intended for *prima*, *secunda*, *tertia* and *quarta*. All these pieces have the letters R·F in the field, which may be read as *Republicæ Felicitas*, or possibly *Renovatio felix*, as a restoration or re-opening of the mint formerly under Carausius. Mr. Roach Smith in his *Antiquities of Richborough* contends that those coins of the British Emperor Carausius which bear in the exergue the letters R S R, are to be read as RVTVPI·SIGNATOR·ROGATORVM, *i.e.*, as struck at Rutupiae. Mr. Grueber in his paper on Roman coins found near Cardiff, *N.C.*, Part I, 1900, appears inclined to accept Rutupiae as the mint, but reads the letters R·S·R as RVTVPIAE·STATIVA·ROMANA or RVTVPIAE·STATIO·ROMANA and quotes the Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus, who describes Rutupiae as a *statio*.

It is just possible that a mint may have been opened here

in the first years of Diocletian, A.D. 284, or of Maximinus Daza A.D. 286 and that this mint, paralyzed by the commotion attendant on the rebellion and usurpation of Carausius, was afterwards re-opened or renewed by him. If this were so, then the letters **R · S · R** are probably intended for **RVTVPIAE · STATIO · RENOVATA** or **RESTAVRATA**.

Under the settled and vigorous rule of Constantinus Maximus the excessive activity of the mint at London was probably relieved by this at Rutupiae; whence we have successive issues indicated by the subsignation **R · P · S · T** and **Q** and its reopening may be commemorated by the letters appearing on all the issues of **R · F** as *Restauratio Felix*. Failing better attribution we may, therefore, regard these coins as belonging to Rutupiae.

TREVES or *Treveris* was the chief of the three Gaulish mints; it is generally given as **PTR**, *percutsa Treveris* but not infrequently as **MOSTP · MOSTS · MOSTT** and **MOSTQ** which may be intelligently rendered as *moneta signata Treveris prima, sec, ter or quarta*. Coins with this inscription are sometimes given to Ostia, the port of Rome, but the above seems to be a safer attribution. Others, again, have **PT**, **ST**, and **TT** to be read as *prima secunda or tertia, treveris* as is evident from those lettered **AT**, **ATR** or **BTR**, where the letters stand for numerals, and indicate either the issue or *officina* of the mint.

ARLES, *Arelate*, has **PARL · SARL · TARL** or **QARL**, which, in accordance with the above readings beyond doubt stand for *prima, sec, ter or quarta, Arelate*. All these pieces have the letters **TF** in the field, irrespective of the issue or *officina*.

LYONS, *Lugdunum*, is invariably rendered as **PLG** or *Pecunia* (or *percutsa*) *Lugduni*.

Treves was the chief Gallic mint, and during the early years of his reign Constantinus Maximus held the imperial court there: his beneficent rule is said to have greatly endeared him to the people. It is not unlikely that he may have directly influenced the character of some of the types, especially those dedicated to Sol, which are of great variety and excellent work and really constitute the bulk of his portion of the coins. Constantine in his

pre-Christian days is known to have attached much importance to the protection of this deity.

The last point for consideration is the probable meaning of the various letters SF, TF, etc., etc., which appear in the field of the majority of the reverses. These letters are quite distinct from the epigraph, or the mint name in the exergue. Where there are two letters, one is generally on either side of the full length figure of the deity or genius. Their correct interpretation is an interesting study, for speculative inquiry has hitherto not produced a result universally accepted, and the matter is yet in the crucible; but probably further consideration will show that no hard and fast rule should apply to all, as different periods, or districts far apart, call for distinctly different readings. Thus, whilst M. Babelon regards some as secret marks, Mr. Percy Webb in a recent valuable paper on the coins of Carausius contends that they are mint marks and reads the letters SA as *signata I officina*, SP, *signata prima officina* and so on for half the alphabet. To some extent, so far as the series of Carausius only is so lettered, he may be right, but the great majority of these letterings on the coins of all emperors about this period will admit no such interpretation without acceptance of obscure or doubtful explanation. M. Maurice is, I cannot but think, much nearer the truth in reading the SP as *securitas perpetua*, etc., etc.

Indeed, by accepting the letters as initials of well-known and often-used epigraphs of early imperial coins in circulation at the time, and with which the public from long use must have been quite familiar, it is not a difficult matter to produce a reasonable reading in almost every instance. Thus :—

TF. <i>Tempora Felicitas.</i>	SF <i>Seculae Felicitas.</i>	SC <i>Soli Conservatori.</i>
- F. <i>Felicitas.</i>	SP <i>Spes Publicae.</i>	PA. <i>Pax Augusti.</i>
SA. <i>Salus Augusti</i> or <i>Spes Augusti</i> or <i>Securitas Augusti.</i>		
AS <i>Augusti Spes</i>		
BS. <i>Bona Spes</i> or <i>Beata Securitas.</i>		BE. <i>Boni Eventus.</i>
CS. <i>Cives Servati</i> or <i>Conservatori Suo.</i>		
FB <i>Felicitas Britanniae.</i>		SG <i>Saeculi Gloria.</i>
BT <i>Beata Tranquillitas.</i>		

We must not forget that all above the exergual line was of a dedicatory character and that with a few notable exceptions the mint mark or inscription is invariably below that line. This was done, no doubt, to avoid the confusion that surely must have arisen if mintage letters had been placed near those of the invocatory or dedicatory epigraph.

The entire series of imperial coins shows the Roman love of abbreviation or compression, names, titles or attributes being generally given in initials only. It would be difficult to find a Roman coin of any description that either on obverse or reverse, or both, would not supply an illustration of this interesting system, but the subject is worthy of special consideration, and probably period and place of mintage will prove to be controlling factors in the method adopted.


The foregoing is a general description of the class of coins of which the find is composed, but the numerous points of curious and interesting detail are given *in extenso* in the tabulated list appended.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TYPES, AND THEIR VARIETIES.

Britain.

MAXIMIANUS HERCULES, Imperator A.D. 286-305, Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus.

Type of reverse.—The Genius crowned and partly draped, standing to left, cornucopia on left arm, right hand holding patera: GENIO · POPVLI · ROMANI generally abbreviated.

No. 1, Æ 2, weight 100·127 gs. *Reverse*.—GENIO POP ROM, 

Obverse.—Bust to right, cuirassed, D · N · MAXI-
MIANO · P · F · C · AVG. Pl. I, No. 1.

Type of reverse.—Three standards, that in the centre surmounted by an eagle. S · P · Q · R · OPTIMO · PRINCIPI.

No. 2, Æ 3, weight 66 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, 

Obverse.—Bust to right paludated. IMP ·
MAXIMIANVS · P · F · AVG.



ROMAN COINS FROM THE LITTLE-ORME FIND.
BRITISH MINTS. III.—IV. CENTURIES.

PI. I

CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS, Emperor A.D. 292-304, Flavius Valerius Constantius.

Type of reverse.—An altar with eagle on each side : **MEMORIA FELIX.**

No. 3, Æ 2, weight 108 gs. *Reverse.*—Altar, as above, $\frac{P|S}{PLN}$.
Obverse.—Veiled bust to right : **DIVO · CON-
 STANTIO · PIO.** Pl. I, No. 2.

CARAUSIUS, Emperor in Britain A.D. 287-293.

Type of reverse.—Peace standing to left : **PAX · AVG.**

No. 4, Æ 3, weight 50 gs. *Reverse.*—As above, $\frac{P|S}{MLXXI}$.
Obverse.—Bust to right, radiate crown :
 ... **CARAVSIVS · P · F · AVG.**

ALLECTUS, Emperor in Britain A.D. 293-296.

Type of reverse.—Draped female figure to left, holding anchor and wreath :
LAETITIA · AVG.

No. 5, Æ 3, weight 69 gs. *Reverse.*—As above, $\frac{S|A}{ML}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right : **IMP · C ·
 ALLECTVS · P · F · AVG.**

Type of reverse.—Providentia holding orb and sceptre : **PROVIDENTIA · AVG.**

No. 6, Æ 3, weight 74 gs. *Reverse.*—As above, $\frac{S|A}{ML}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right, radiate crown :
IMP · ALLECTVS · P · F · AVG.

MAXIMINUS DAZA, Emperor A.D. 305-313, Caius Galerius Valerius Maximinus.

Type of reverse.—**GENIO POP POM.** Similar to No. 1.

No. 7, Æ 2, weight 128 gs. *Reverse.*—As above, $\frac{P|S}{PLN}$.
Obverse.—Paludated bust to right : **GAL · VAL ·
 MAXIMINVS · NOB · C.**

„ 8, „ 3, „ 65·90 „ *Reverse.*—Similar, $\frac{P|S}{PLN}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right : **IMP · MAXI-
 MINVS · P · F · AVG.** Pl. I, No. 3.

„ 9, „ 3, „ 63·71 „ *Reverse.*—Similar, $\frac{P|S}{PLN}$.
Obverse.—„ but F omitted. Many are of
 fine work, some are tin-washed.

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D

Type of reverse.—Sol walking to right, radiated and partly draped, head reversed, right hand raised, orb in left : SOLI · INVICTO · COMITI.

No. 10, Æ 3, weight 64 gs. *Reverse*.—Sol, as above, $\frac{1}{RP}$.

Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right : IMP · MAXI-
MINVS · P · F · AVG.

LICINIUS I., Pater, Imperator A.D. 307–323, Flavius Valerius Licinianus Licinius.

Type of reverse.—GENIO POP ROM, as No. 1.

No. 11, Æ 3, weight 44·60 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, $\frac{SF}{PLN}$.

Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right. IMP · LICI-
NIVS · P · F · AVG.

„ 12, „ 3, „ 43·51 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{SF}{MSL}$.

Obverse.— „ Pl. I, No. 4.

„ 13, „ 3, „ 51·56 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{SP}{MSL}$.

Obverse.— „

„ 14, „ 3, „ 53·56 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{SF}{MLL}$.

Obverse.— „

„ 15, „ 3, „ 46 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{SF}{MLN}$.

Obverse.— „

„ 16, „ 3, „ 65 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{1}{PLN}$.

Obverse.—Bust to left in pallium : IMP LICINIVS ·
P · F · AVG. Pl. I, No. 5.

„ 17, „ 3, „ 47·52 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{\bullet}{PLN}$.

Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right ; as above.

„ 18, „ 3, „ 62·73 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{1}{PLN}$.

Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right ; as above.
Pl. I, No. 6.

Type of reverse.—Sol to left, radiated and partly draped, orb in right hand, whip in left : COMITI · N · N · AVGG.

No. 19, Æ 3, weight 67 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, $\frac{1}{PLN}$.

Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right : IMP · LICI-
NIVS · P · F · AVG.

Type of reverse.—Sol as before, but orb in left hand, the right hand raised :
SOLI · INVICTO · COMITI.

- No. 20, Æ 3, weight 48 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, $\frac{S|F}{PLN}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right : IMP · LICINIVS · P · F · AVG.
- „ 21, „ 3, „ 49 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{S|F}{MLN}$.
Obverse.— „
- „ 22, „ 3, „ 49 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{S|P}{MLN}$.
Obverse.— „ but F omitted.
- „ 23, „ 3, „ 47·51 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{S|P}{MSL}$.
Obverse.— „ IMP · LICINIVS · P · F · AVG.
- „ 24, „ 3, „ 52 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{S|F}{MSL}$.
Obverse.— „
- „ 25, „ 3, „ 46 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{T|F}{PLN}$.
Obverse.— „ Pl. I, No. 7.
- „ 26, „ 3, „ 42 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{T|F}{PLN}$.
Obverse.—Paludated, similar.
- „ 27, „ 3, „ 40 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{R|F}{RQ}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed, „
- „ 28, „ 3, „ 51 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{R|F}{RS}$.
Obverse.—Paludated, „ Pl. I, No. 8.

CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS, Imperator A.D. 306–337, Flavius Valerius Constantinus.

Type of reverse.—GENIO POPVLI ROMANI, similar to No. 1.

- No. 29, Æ 2, weight 115·123 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, $\frac{|}{PLN}$. GENIO · POP · ROM.
Obverse.—Paludated bust to right : FL · VAL · CONSTANTINVS · NOB · C. Pl. I, No. 9.
- „ 30, „ 2, „ 107 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{|}{PLN}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed, similar : IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.

D 2

No. 31, Æ 2, weight 102.9 gs. *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{|}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.— „ IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F ·
 AVG.

„ 32, „ 2, „ 102.114 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{|}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.— „ but F omitted, youthful portrait.

Type of reverse.—Mars, nude, running to right, spear in right hand ; shield and helm : MARTI · PATRI · PRO · PVG.

No. 33, Æ 2, weight 118 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, $\frac{|}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.—Youthful bust to right, cuirassed :
 IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.
 Pl. I, No. 10.

Type of reverse.—Imperator standing to left, holding ensign in each hand :
 PRINCIPI · IVVENTVTIS.

No. 34, Æ 2, weight 93 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, $\frac{|}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right : IMP · CON-
 STANTINVS · P · AVG. Pl. I, No. 11.

„ 35, „ 3, „ 53 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{| \bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.— „ CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.

„ 36, „ 3, „ 65 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{| \bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.— „ but F omitted. Pl. I, No. 12.

„ 37, „ 3, „ 78 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{| \bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to left, with richly
 ornamented and laureated helm :
 CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG. Pl. I,
 No. 13.

Type of reverse.—Imperator standing to left, laureated and with *hasta pura* ; or helmed, with reversed spear, orb in right hand : PRINCIPI · IVVENTVTIS.

No. 38, Æ 3, weight 55.75 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, helmed, $\frac{| \bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right : CONSTANTI-
 NVS · P · F · AVG. Pl. I, No. 14.

„ 39, „ 3, „ 74 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, laureated, $\frac{| \bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.— „ but a variety omits F.

No. 40, Æ 3, weight 69 gs. *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{\bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to left, with laureated helmet and shield, right hand holding spear on shoulder.

„ 41, „ 3, „ „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{\bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.—Laureated bust to left, embroidered pallium, eagle-surmounted sceptre in front; coronation type: **CONSTANTINVS · P · AVG.**

Type of reverse.—Imperator standing to right, holding the spear horizontally in right hand and orb in left: **PRINCIPI · IVVENTVTIS.**

No. 42, Æ 3, weight 61·75 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, $\frac{\bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right: **CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.**

„ 43, „ 3, „ 70·79 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{\bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.— „ but omitting F. Pl. I, No. 15.

„ 44, „ 3, „ 69 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{\bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to left: **CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.**

„ 45, „ 3, „ 73 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{\bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.— „ but with ornamented helm, laureated; spear and shield to front. Pl. I, No. 16.

„ 46, „ 3, „ 58 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{\bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.— „ but the right hand holding spear on shoulder: **CONSTANTINVS · AVG.**

Type of reverse.—Imperator on horseback to left, right hand raised, spear in left, captive, bound and seated on ground in front: **ADVENTVS · AVG · N.**

No. 47, Æ 3, weight 63 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, $\frac{\bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right: **CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.** Pl. I, No. 17.

No. 48, Æ 3, weight 56 gs. *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{S}{PLN}$.

Obverse.— „ IMP · CONSTANTINVS · AVG.

Type of reverse.—*Roma* seated to left, olive branch in right hand, orb in left: ROMAE · AETER · AVG · G.

No. 49, Æ 3, weight 69 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, $\frac{\bullet}{PLN}$.

Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right: CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG; a variety omits the F. Pl. I, No. 18.

Type of reverse.—Three ensigns or standards, that in the centre surmounted with eagle: S · P · Q · R · OPTIMO · PRINCIPI.

No. 50, Æ 3, weight 63 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, $\frac{RT}{PLN}$.

Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right: IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.

Type of reverse.—Female figure to left with standard in each hand: CONCORD · MILIT.

No. 51, Æ 3, weight 66·70 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, $\frac{\bullet}{PLN}$.

Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right: CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG. Pl. I, No. 19.

„ 52, „ 3, „ 70 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{\bullet}{PLN}$.

Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right: CONSTANTINVS · P · AVG.

„ 53, „ 3, „ 64 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{\bullet}{PLN}$.

Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to left, with laureated helm, crested and richly ornamented, right hand holding spear on shoulder, shield to left: CONSTANTINVS · P · AVG. Pl. I, No. 20.

„ 54, „ 3, „ 62 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{\bullet}{PLN}$.

Obverse.— „ but with radiate crown on helmet instead of laurel wreath, inscription similar. Pl. I, No. 21.

„ 55, „ 3, „ 73 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{\bullet}{PLN}$ or $\frac{\bullet}{PLN}$.

Obverse.— „ laureated helm of unusual richness and with high plumed crest. Pl. I, No. 22.



ROMAN COINS FROM THE LITTLE-ORME FIND. PI. II.
BRITISH MINTS. III.—IV. CENTURIES.

NOTE.—The above three coins give excellent portraits of the emperor ; the design and work are equally good. There was only one piece each in the find of Nos. 53 and 54, and two of No. 55.

Type of reverse.—Female figure to left, left arm resting upon pillar, right arm raised to head : **SECVRITAS · AVG · G.**

No. 56, Æ 3, weight 55·68 gs. *Reverse.*—As above, $\frac{\bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.

Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right: **CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.** Pl. I, No. 23.

Type of reverse.—Mars standing to right, with shield and reversed spear in right hand : **MARTI · CONSERVATORI.**

No. 57, Æ 3, weight 62·68 gs. *Reverse.*—As above, $\frac{\text{T|F}}{\text{PLN}}$.

Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right: **IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.**

„ 58, „ 3, „ 47 „ *Reverse.*—Similar, $\frac{\text{S|F}}{\text{PLN}}$.

Obverse.— „ but omits the P · F.

„ 59, „ 3, „ 67·78 „ *Reverse.*— „ $\frac{\bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.

Obverse.— „ **CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.**

„ 60, „ 3, „ 45·58 „ *Reverse.*— „ $\frac{\bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.

Obverse.— „ but omitting the F.

„ 61, „ 3, „ 48 „ *Reverse.*— „ $\frac{\bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.

Obverse.— „ **IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.** Pl. I, No. 24.

„ 62, „ 3, „ 47·52 „ *Reverse.*—Similar, $\frac{\bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.

Obverse.—Paludated bust to right, similar.

„ 63, „ 3, „ 67 „ *Reverse.*—Similar, $\frac{\bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.

Obverse.—Bust to left cuirassed, with richly ornamented helm, laureated, spear on shoulder in right hand, shield to left : **CONSTANTINVS · P · AVG.** Pl. II, No. 25.

Type of reverse.—Bust of Mars to right, cuirassed and with decorated helm : **MARTI · CONSERVATORI.**

No. 64, Æ 3, weight 47.74 gs. *Reverse*.—As above,
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right : IMP · CON-
 STANTINVS · AVG. Pl. II, No. 26.

„ 65, „ 3, „ 68.76 „ *Reverse*.—Similar.
Obverse.— „ CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.

NOTE.—The above type although without MM. clearly belongs to the London mint. Many pieces are tin-washed.

Type of reverse.—Mars armed, running to left, spear and shield on left arm, right hand holding olive branch : MARTI · PACIF.

No. 66, Æ 3, weight 93 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, $\frac{1}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.—Youthful bust, cuirassed, to right :
 FL · VAL · CONSTANTINVS · NOB · C.

Type of reverse.—Sol standing to left, chlamys on shoulders, radiated orb in right hand, whip in left : COMITI · AVG · G · N · N.

No. 67, Æ 3, weight 63.82 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, $\frac{1}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right : CONSTANTI-
 NVS · P · F · AVG. Pl. II, No. 27.

„ 68, „ 3, „ 56 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{1}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.— „ but F omitted.

„ 69, „ 3, „ 69 „ *Reverse*.—COMITI · N · N · AVG · G, $\frac{1}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.—Similar.

„ 70, „ 3, „ 63 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{\text{TIF}}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.— „

„ 71, „ 3, „ 62.76 „ *Reverse*.—COMITI · AVG · G · N · N, $\frac{1}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.—Imperial bust to left with laureated
 helm, spear in right hand on
 shoulder, shield to left : CONSTANTI-
 NVS · P · F · AVG.

„ 72, „ 3, „ 61 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{1}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.— „ but F omitted. Pl. II, No. 28.

„ 73, „ 3, „ 70.73 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{1}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.— „ but P · F · omitted.

- No. 74, Æ 3, weight 70 gs. *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{| \bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.— „ spear and shield to front of bust : CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.
- „ 75, „ 3, „ 63 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{| \bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.— „ but P · F · omitted. Pl. II, No. 29.
- „ 76, „ 3, „ 68·70 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{| \bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right, decorated helm laureated, very fine work : CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG. Pl. II, No. 30.
- „ 77, Æ 3, weight 68 gs. *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{| \bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.— „ but beaded band to helm.
- Type of obverse.—Youthful bust of the Emperor, laureated and wearing the pallium, right hand holding eagle-surmounted sceptre to front ; fine work.
- No. 78, Æ 3, weight 65 gs. *Reverse*.—As before, $\frac{| \bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.—As above : CONSTANTINVS · P · AVG. Pl. II, No. 31.
- Type of reverse.—Genius standing to left with cornucopia and patera : GENIO · POP · ROM.
- No. 79, Æ 3, weight 102·3 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, $\frac{| \bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right : IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG. Pl. II, No. 32.
- „ 80, „ 3, „ 79 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{\text{T|F}}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.—Similar, CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.
- „ 81, „ 3, „ 48 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{\text{T|F}}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.— „ but F omitted.
- „ 82, „ 3, „ 51 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{\text{T|F}}{\text{PLN}}$.
Obverse.—Paludated bust to right : CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.

- No. 83, Æ 3, weight 54.57 gs. *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{S|P}{MLN}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust: IMP · CONSTANTINVS · AVG.
- „ 84, „ 3, „ 50 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{S|P}{MLN}$.
Obverse.— „ CONSTANTINVS · P · AG.
- „ 85, „ 3, „ 52 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{S|F}{MSL}$.
Obverse.—Paludated bust to right: IMP · CONSTANTINVS · AVG. Pl. II, No. 33.
- „ 86, „ 3, „ 48 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{S|F}{MLN}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed, similar.
- Type of reverse.—Sol standing to left, radiated, orb in left hand, right hand raised: SOLI · INVICTO · COMITI.
- No. 87, Æ 3, weight 48 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, $\frac{S|F}{PLN}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to left, ornamented helm laureated, spear on shoulder in right hand, shield to left: CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.
- „ 88, „ 3, „ $\left. \begin{matrix} 46 \\ 58 \end{matrix} \right\}$ „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{S|F}{PLN}$.
Obverse.— „ P · F omitted. Pl. II, No. 34.
- „ 89, „ 3, „ 42.55 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{S|F}{PLN}$.
Obverse.— „ but no wreath on helm.
- „ 90, „ 3, „ 58.79 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{T|F}{PLN}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right: IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F AVG. Pl. II, No. 35.
- „ 91, „ 3, „ 61.86 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{T|F}{PLN}$.
Obverse.— „ but F omitted.
- „ 92, „ 3, „ 56.74 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{T|F}{PLN}$.
Obverse.—Paludated bust to right: IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.
- „ 93, „ 3, „ 48.64 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{T|F}{PLN}$.
Obverse.— „ but IMP omitted.

No. 94, Æ 3, weight 44.55 gs.	Reverse.—Similar, $\frac{T|F}{PLN}$.
	Obverse.— „ but CONSTANTINVS · P · AVG. ¹
„ 95, „ 3, „ 44 „	Reverse.— „ $\frac{T|F}{PLN}$.
	Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right; CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.
„ 96, „ 3, „ 41.63 „	Reverse.—Similar, $\frac{T|F}{PLN}$.
	Obverse.— „ but F omitted.
„ 97, „ 3, „ 50 „	Reverse.— „ $\frac{T|F}{PLN}$.
	Obverse.—Paludated bust to right: CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.
„ 98, „ 3, „ 38.59 „	Reverse.—Similar, $\frac{T|F}{PLN}$.
	Obverse.— „ but F omitted.
„ 99, „ 3, „ 44.50 „	Reverse.— „ $\frac{T|F}{PLN}$.
	Obverse.— „ CONSTANTINVS · P · AG.
„ 100, „ 3, „ 41.49 „	Reverse.— „ $\frac{T|F}{PLN}$.
	Obverse.— „ CONSTANTINVS · AVG.
„ 101, „ 3, „ 46 „	Reverse.— „ $\frac{S|F}{PLN}$.
	Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right: IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG. Pl. II, No. 36.
„ 102, „ 3, „ 47 „	Reverse.—Similar, $\frac{S|F}{PLN}$.
	Obverse.— „ but F omitted.
„ 103, „ 3, „ 46.57 „	Reverse.— „ $\frac{S|F}{PLN}$.
	Obverse.— „ IMP · CONSTANTINVS · AVG.
„ 104, „ 3, „ 48 „	Reverse.— „ $\frac{S|F}{PLN}$.
	Obverse.— „ IMP · CONSTANTINVS · A · C. ? AG.
„ 105, „ 3, „ 52 „	Reverse.— „ $\frac{S|F}{PLN}$.
	Obverse.— „ CONSTANTINVS · P · AVG.
„ 106, „ 3, „ 44 „	Reverse.—Similar, $\frac{S|F}{PLN}$.
	Obverse.— „ CONSTANTINVS · AVG.

¹ A variety omits the ·P·

No. 107, Æ 3, weight 53 gs. *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{F}{PLN}$.

Obverse.— " IMP · CONSTANTINVS · AVG.

Type of reverse.—Radiated bust of Sol to right with chlamys: SOLI · INVICTO · COMITI without *subsig.* but clearly of London mint.

No. 108, Æ 3, weight 65·69 gs. *Reverse*.—As above.

Obverse.—Cuirassed bust of emperor to right :
IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.
Pl. II, No. 37.

" 109, " 3, " 63·73 " *Reverse*.—Similar.

Obverse.— " but P · F · omitted.

" 110, " 3, " 58·73 " *Reverse*.— "

Obverse.— " CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.

" 111, " 3, " 47·66 " *Reverse*.— "

Obverse.—Paludated bust to right : CONSTANTI-
NVS · P · F · AVG. Pl. II, No. 38.

NOTE.—Some of the above are of very fine work.

Type of reverse.—Similar to No. 87, but with figure instead of bust.

No. 112, Æ 3, weight 46·52 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, $\frac{\bullet}{PLN}$.

Obverse.—Cuirassed bust of Emperor to right :
IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.

" 113, " 3, " 46·65 " *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{\bullet}{PLN}$.

Obverse.— " but F omitted. Pl. II, No. 39.

" 114, " 3, " 61 " *Reverse*.— " $\frac{\bullet}{PLN}$.

Obverse.— " CONSTANTINVS · P · AVG.

" 115, " 3, " 46·55 " *Reverse*.— " $\frac{\bullet}{PLN}$.

Obverse.—Paludated bust to right: IMP · CON-
STANTINVS · P · F · AVG.

" 116, " 3, " 45·65 " *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{\bullet}{PLN}$.

Obverse.— " but F omitted. Pl. II, No. 40.

Type of reverse.—Sol standing to right with reversed head, orb in left hand, the right arm raised: SOLI · INVICTO · COMITI.

No. 117, Æ 3, weight 62·71 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, $\frac{\bullet}{PLN}$.

Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right : CONSTANTI-
NVS · P · F · AVG. Pl. II, No. 41.

No. 118, Æ 3, weight 66 gs. *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{\bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.

Obverse.— „ but F omitted.

„ 119, „ 3, „ 70 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{\bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.

Obverse.—Imperial bust to left, with richly ornamented helm, laureated, spear on right shoulder, shield to left: CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG. Pl. II, No. 42.

„ 120, „ 3, „ 55·71 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{\bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.

Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right: inscription, as above.

„ 121, „ 3, „ 58 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{\bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.

Obverse.—Paludated bust to right: IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.

Type of reverse.—Sol standing to left, radiated, right hand raised, whip in left: SOLI · INVICTO · COMITI.

No. 122, Æ 3, weight 62 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, $\frac{\bullet}{\text{PLN}}$.

Obverse.—Laureated bust to right, larger than usual and with rich pallium and vestment: CONSTANTINVS · A · G. or N · C. Pl. II, No. 43.

NOTE.—This piece is of large size for its weight. It is tin-washed. The obverse is of fine work.

Type of reverse.—Sol standing to left, right hand raised, orb in left: SOLI · INVICTO · COMITI.

No. 123, Æ 3, weight 41·52 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, $\frac{\text{S|P}}{\text{MSL}}$.

Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right: CONSTANTINVS · P · AVG.

„ 124, „ 3, „ 54 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{\text{S|P}}{\text{MSL}}$.

Obverse.— „ but P omitted.

„ 125, „ 3, „ 46 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{\text{S|P}}{\text{MSL}}$.

Obverse.—Bust to left, robed: CONSTANTINVS · P · AVG.

- No. 126, Æ 3, weight 46 gs. *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{S|P}{MSL}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right: IMP · CON-
 STANTINVS · AVG.
- „ 127, „ 3, „ 49·53 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{S|P}{MSL}$.
Obverse.— „ but P · AVG.
- „ 128, „ 3, „ 45·63 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{S|F}{MSL}$.
Obverse.— „ IMP · CONSTANTINVS · AVG.
 Pl. II, No. 44.
- „ 129, „ 3, „ 46·62 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{S|F}{MLL}$.
Obverse.— „
- „ 130, „ 3, „ 56 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{S|F}{MLN}$.
Obverse.— „ CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.
- „ 131, „ 3, „ 38·45 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{S|F}{MLN}$.
Obverse.— „ but F omitted. Pl. II, No. 45.
- „ 132, „ 3, „ 49 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{S|F}{MLN}$.
Obverse.— „ CONSTANTINVS AVG.
- „ 133, „ 3, „ 44·55 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{S|F}{MLN}$.
Obverse.— „ IMP · CONSTANTINVS · AVG.
- „ 134, „ 3, „ 44·54 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{S|P}{MLN}$.
Obverse.— „
- „ 135, „ 3, „ 44·48 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{S|P}{MLN}$.
Obverse.— „ CONSTANTINVS · P · AVG.
- „ 136, „ 3, „ 50·53 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{R|F}{+}$.
 RP
Obverse.— Paludated bust to right: IMP · CON-
 STANTINVS · P · F · AVG. Pl. II,
 No. 47.
- „ 137, „ 3, „ 64 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{C|S}{RT}$.
Obverse.— „

Type of reverse.—Sol as before, but with orb and whip in left hand: SOLI · INVICTO · COMITI.

No. 138, Æ 3, weight 50 gs. Reverse.—As above, $\frac{S|P}{MLN}$.

Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right: CONSTANTI-
NVS · P · AVG. Pl. II, No. 46.

Type of reverse.—Roma standing to left and spear in right hand, paragonium in left: VIRT · EXERCIT · GALL.

No. 139, Æ 3, weight 49 gs. Reverse.—As above, $\frac{X|VI}{RP}$.

Obverse.—Bust with radiate crown to right, paludated: FL · VAL · CONSTANTI-
NVS · AVG.

Gaulish Mints.

MAXIMIANUS HERCULES, Imperator A.D. 286–305, Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus.

Type of reverse.—The Genius standing to left with cornucopia and patera: GENIO · POP · ROM.

No. 140, Æ 3, weight 69 gs. Reverse.—As above, $\frac{S|A}{PTR}$.

Obverse.—Bust to right, cuirassed: IMP · MAXI-
MIANVS · P · F · AVG.

„ 141, „ 2, „ 94 „ Reverse.—Similar, $\frac{|}{blank}$.

Obverse.—„ DN · MAXIMIANO · P · F · S ·
AVG.

Type of reverse.—Peace standing to left, holding laurel branch and hasta: QVIES · AVG.

No. 142, Æ 2, weight 96 gs. Reverse.—As above, $\frac{S|A}{PTR}$.

Obverse.—Bust to right, cuirassed: MAXIMIANVS ·
P · F · AVG.

Type of reverse.—Temple of six columns, statue of Roma in centre: CON-
SERVATORES · VRB · SVAE.

No. 143, Æ 2, weight 110 gs. Reverse.—As above, $\frac{T}{T}$.

Obverse.—Head, only, laureated. to right: IMP ·
MAXIMIANVS · P · F · AVG.

CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS, Emperor A.D. 292-304, Flavius Valerius Constantius.

Type of reverse.—Genius with cornucopia and patera: GENIO · POPVLI · ROMANI.

No. 144, Æ 2, weight 147 gs. Reverse.—As above, $\frac{SIF}{IITR}$.

Obverse.—Bust to right, Cuirassed: CONSTANTIVS · NOBIL · C.

MAXIMINUS DAZA, Emperor, A.D. 305-313, Caius Galerius Valerius Maximinus.

Type of reverse.—GENIO POP ROM, similar to No. 1 of British mints.

No. 145, Æ 2, weight 92 gs. Reverse.—As above, $\frac{SIA}{PTR}$.

Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right: GAL · VAL · MAXIMINVS · NOB · C. Pl. III, No. 48.

„ 146, „ 3, „ 58·80 „ Reverse.—Similar, $\frac{TIF}{PTR}$.

Obverse.— „ IMP · MAXIMINVS · P · F · AVG. Pl. III, No. 49.

„ 147, „ 3, „ 74·81 „ Reverse.—Similar, $\frac{TIF}{PTR}$.

Obverse.—Paludated, similar.

„ 148, „ 3, „ 63·73 „ Reverse.—Similar, $\frac{|}{MOSTT}$.

Obverse.—Cuirassed, similar.

„ 149, „ 3, „ 80 „ Reverse.—Similar, $\frac{|}{MOSTT}$.

Obverse.—Paludated, similar.

Type of reverse.—Sol standing to left, similar to No. 87 of British mints.

No. 150, Æ 3, weight 56·59 gs. Reverse.—As above, $\frac{|}{MOSTT}$.

Obverse.—Paludated bust to right: IMP · MAXIMINVS · P · F · AVG.

Type of reverse.—Sol standing to right, etc., similar to No. 117 of British mints

No. 151, Æ 3, weight 80 gs. Reverse.—As above, $\frac{|}{ST}$.

Obverse.—Head to right, bare neck: MAXIMINVS · P · F · AVG. Pl. III, No. 50.



ROMAN COINS FROM THE LITTLE-ORME FIND. PI. III.
GAULISH MINTS. III.—IV. CENTURIES.

LICINIUS I., Pater, Imperator, A.D. 307-323, Flavius Valerius Licinianus Licinius.

Type of reverse.—GENIO POP ROM, similar to No. 1 of British mints.

No. 152, Æ 3, weight 48·98 gs. Reverse.—As above, $\frac{T|F}{PTR}$.

Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right : IMP · LICINIVS ·
P · F · AVG. Pl. III, No. 51.

„ 153, „ 3, „ 56 „ Reverse.—Similar, $\frac{T|F}{PTR}$.

Obverse.—Paludated, similar.

„ 154, „ 3, „ 44·51 „ Reverse.—Similar, $\frac{T|F}{ATR}$.

Obverse.—Cuirassed, similar.

„ 155, „ 3, „ 44·57 „ Reverse.—Similar, $\frac{T|F}{ATR}$.

Obverse.—Paludated, similar.

„ 156, „ 3, „ 36·59 „ Reverse.—Similar, $\frac{T|F}{BTR}$.

Obverse.—Cuirassed, similar.

„ 157, „ 3, „ 42·63 „ Reverse.—Similar, $\frac{T|F}{BTR}$.

Obverse.—Paludated, similar.

„ 158, „ 3, „ 44·55 „ Reverse.—Similar, $\frac{A|S}{PTR}$.

Obverse.—Cuirassed, similar.

„ 159, „ 3, „ 45 „ Reverse.—Similar, $\frac{BS}{PTR}$.

Obverse.— „

Type of reverse.—Sol standing to left, similar to No. 87 of British mints.

No. 160, Æ 3, weight 65 gs. Reverse.—As above, $\frac{|}{STS}$.

Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right : IMP · LICINIVS ·
P · F · AVG.

„ 161, „ 3, „ 49 „ Reverse.—Similar, $\frac{S|F}{QARL}$.

Obverse.— „

Type of reverse.—Sol standing to right, head reversed, as No. 117 of British mints.

No. 162, Æ 3, weight 48 gs. Reverse.—As above, $\frac{T|F}{PARL}$.

Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right : IMP · LICINIVS ·
AVG.

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- No. 163, Æ 3, weight 49 gs. *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{CIS}{PA}$.
Obverse.—Paludated, similar.
- „ 164, „ 3, „ 52 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{|}{PARL}$.
Obverse.— „ IMP · LICINIVS · P · F · AVG.

CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS, Emperor, A.D. 306-337, Flavius Valerius Constantinus.

Type of reverse.—Youthful Emperor standing to left, with eagle-surmounted standard in each hand: PRINCIPI · IVVENTVTIS; similar to No. 34 of British mints.

- No. 165, Æ 2, weight 92 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, $\frac{S/A}{PTR}$.
Obverse.—Youthful bust to right, cuirassed:
IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.
Pl. III, No. 52.

Type of reverse.—Genius to left: GENIO · POP · ROM; similar to No. 1 of British mints.

- No. 166, Æ 2, weight 125 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, $\frac{S/A}{PTR}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right: FL · VAL ·
CONSTANTINVS · NOB · C. Pl. III,
No. 53.
- „ 167, „ 2, „ 106 „ *Reverse*.—Similar:—
GENIO · POPVLI · ROMANI, $\frac{S/A}{PTR}$.
Obverse.—Paludated bust to right; inscription
as above. Pl. III, No. 54.
- „ 168, „ 2, „ 184 „ *Reverse*.—Similar $\frac{S/F}{PTR}$.
Obverse.—Paludated bust to right: FL · VAL ·
CONSTANTINVS · N · C. Pl. III, No. 55.
This piece is possibly a piedfort,
being nearly double the average
weight.
- „ 169, „ 2, „ 129 „ *Reverse*.—GENIO POP ROM $\frac{S/A}{PTR}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right: FL · VAL ·
CONSTANTINVS · NOB · C.

No. 170, Æ 2, weight 106 gs. *Reverse*.—Similar, but with flaming altar $\frac{C|H}{S} \cdot \frac{PLG}{S}$.

Obverse.—Paludated bust to right: IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG. Pl. III, No. 56.

Type of reverse.—Mars standing to right: MARTI · CONSERVATORI; similar to No. 57 of British mints.

No. 171, Æ 3, weight 61 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, $\frac{T|F}{PTR}$.

Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right: IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.

„ 172, „ 3, „ 48·69 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{T|F}{PTR}$.

Obverse.— „ but · P · F · omitted.

„ 173, „ 3, „ 54·89 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{T|F}{PTR}$.

Obverse.— „ CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG. Pl. III, No. 57.

„ 174, „ 3, „ 69 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{I}{TT}$.

Obverse.— „

„ 175, „ 3, „ 48 „ *Reverse*.— „ but looking back, $\frac{B|S}{PTR}$.

Obverse.— „ Pl. III, No. 58.

„ 176, „ 3, „ 40·63 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{T|F}{PTR}$ as type.

Obverse.—Paludated bust to right: IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.

„ 177, „ 3, „ 40·63 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{T|F}{PTR}$.

Obverse.— „ IMP · omitted.

„ 178, „ 3, „ 68 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{F|T}{PLG}$.

Obverse.— „ IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.

„ 179, „ 3, „ 44·54 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{T|F}{PLG}$.

Obverse.— „

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- No. 180, Æ 3, weight 47 gs. *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{T|F}{PLG}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed, similar; extra fine work.
 Pl. III, No. 59.
- „ 181, „ 3, „ 66 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{T|F}{ATR}$.
Obverse.—Very fine bust paludated to right:
 CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.
- „ 182, „ 3, „ 53 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{|}{SARL}$.
Obverse.—„ IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F ·
 AVG.
- Type of reverse.—Sol to right, head reversed: epigraph, SOLI · INVICTO ·
 COMITI; similar to No. 117, British mints.
- No. 183, Æ 3, weight 48 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, $\frac{|}{MOSTT}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right: IMP · CON-
 STANTINVS · P · AVG.
- Type of reverse.—Three standards, etc.: epigraph, S P Q R · OPTIMO ·
 PRINCIPI; as No. 50, British mints.
- No. 184, Æ 3, weight 71 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, $\frac{|}{MOSTP}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right: IMP · CON-
 STANTINVS · P · F · AVG. Pl. III,
 No. 60.
- „ 185, „ 3, „ 70 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{|}{MOSTT}$.
Obverse.—„
- Type of reverse.—Youthful Imperator between standards: epigraph,
 PRINCIPI · IVVENTVTIS; similar to No. 34, British mints.
- No. 186, Æ 3, weight 67 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, $\frac{S|A}{PTR}$.
Obverse.—Youthful bust to right, cuirassed: FL ·
 VAL · CONSTANTINVS · N · C.
- Type of reverse.—Mars, nude, running to right: epigraph, MARTI · PATRI ·
 PRO · PVGNATORI.
- No. 187, Æ 3, weight — gs. *Reverse*.—As above, $\frac{T|F}{PTR}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right: IMP · CON-
 STANTINVS · P · F · AVG.
- „ 188, „ 2, „ 82 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{N|}{PLG}$.
Obverse.—„ Pl. III, No. 61.

Type of reverse.—Sol standing to left: SOLI · INVICTO · COMITI; similar to No. 87 of British mints.

- No. 189, Æ 3, weight 58·90 gs. *Reverse*.—As above, $\frac{T|F}{PTR}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right: CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG. Pl. III, No. 62.
- „ 190, „ 3, „ 66·69 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{T|F}{PTR}$.
Obverse.—Paludated bust to right: IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG. Pl. III, No. 63.
- „ 191, „ 3, „ 49·79 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{T|F}{PTR}$.
Obverse.— „ but omitting · P · F.
- „ 192, „ 3, „ 54 „ *Reverse*.—Sol to right, looking back, $\frac{T|F}{PTR}$.
Obverse.—Large bust to right, similar.
- „ 193, „ 3, „ 52·78 „ *Reverse*.—Sol to left, as type, $\frac{T|F}{PTR}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right: IMP · CONSTANTINVS · AVG.
- „ 194, „ 3, „ 60·88 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{T|F}{PTR}$.
Obverse.— „ IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.
- „ 195, „ 3, „ 54 „ *Reverse*.—Sol to right, looking back, $\frac{T|F}{PTR}$.
Obverse.—Small cuirassed bust to right, very fine work: IMP · CONSTANTINVS · AVG. Pl. III, No. 64.
- „ 196, „ 3, „ 60·85 „ *Reverse*.—Sol to left, as type, $\frac{T|F}{PTR}$.
Obverse.—Paludated bust to right: CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.
- „ 197, „ 3, „ 61 „ *Reverse*.—Sol to right, looking back, $\frac{T|F}{PTR}$.
Obverse.—Similar.
- „ 198, „ 3, „ 46 „ *Reverse*.—Sol to left, as type, $\frac{A|S}{PTR}$.
Obverse.—Similar: IMP · CONSTANTINVS · AVG.

- No. 199, Æ 3, weight 40.59 gs. *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{B|S}{PTR}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed, similar.
- „ 200, „ 3, „ 45.64 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{B|S}{PTR}$.
Obverse.— „ CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.
 Pl. III, No. 65.
- „ 201, „ 3, „ 48 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{C|S}{AT}$.
Obverse.—Paludated bust to right: IMP · CON-
 STANTINVS · P · F · AVG.
- „ 202, „ 3, „ 48 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{\bullet}{PT}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right, similar.
- „ 203, „ 3, „ 52 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{\bullet}{ST}$.
Obverse.— „
- „ 204, „ 3, „ 57 „ *Reverse*.—Sol to right, looking back, $\frac{|}{TT}$.
Obverse.—Similar: CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.
 Pl. III, No. 66.
- „ 205, „ 3, „ 33 „ *Reverse*.—Sol to left, as type, but COMITI
 omitted, $\frac{|}{PTR}$.
Obverse.—Paludated bust to right: CONSTANTI-
 NVS · AVG. This piece is the
 smallest Æ 3 in the find.
- „ 206, „ 3, „ 45.57 „ *Reverse*.—Sol, as type, $\frac{T|F}{ATR}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right: IMP · CON-
 STANTINVS · AVG.
- „ 207, „ 3, „ 46 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{T|F}{ATR}$.
Obverse.— „ IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F ·
 AVG.
- „ 208, „ 3, „ 48.54 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{T|F}{ATR}$.
Obverse.— „ but paludated.
- „ 209, „ 3, „ 48.68 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{T|F}{ATR}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.

- No. 210, Æ 2, weight 42 gs. *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{T|F}{ATR}$.
Obverse.—Paludated ; IMP · CONSTANTINVS · AVG.
- „ 211, „ 3, „ 51·61 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{FIT}{ATR}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed, similar.
- „ 212, „ 3, „ 40·64 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{T|F}{BTR}$.
Obverse.— „ but with pallium ; CONSTAN-
TINVS · P · F · AVG.
- „ 213, „ 3, „ 63 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{T|F}{BTR}$.
Obverse.—Paludated bust to right, similar.
- „ 214, „ 3, „ 35 „ *Reverse*.—Sol to right, looking back, $\frac{T|F}{BTR}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right, similar.
- „ 215, „ 3, „ 49·72 „ *Reverse*.—Sol to left, as type, $\frac{T|F}{BTR}$.
Obverse.—Paludated bust to right : IMP · CON-
STANTINVS · AVG.
- „ 216, „ 3, „ 41·61 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{T|F}{BTR}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right, of fine work :
similar.
- „ 217, „ 3, „ 52 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{T|F}{BTR}$.
Obverse.— „ CONSTANTINVS · P · F ·
AVG.
- „ 218, „ 3, „ 44·50 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{T|F}{BTR}$.
Obverse.— „ but · F · omitted.
- „ 219, „ 3, „ 54 „ *Reverse*.—Sol to right, looking back, $\frac{C|S}{PARL}$.
Obverse.—Similar : IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F ·
AVG.
- „ 220, „ 3, „ 48 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{C|S}{PARL}$.
Obverse.—Paludated similar.
- „ 221, „ 3, „ 44·58 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{|}{PARL}$.
Obverse.— „

- No. 222, Æ 3, weight 51.55 gs. *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{\text{T|F}}{\text{PARL}}$.
Obverse.— „
- „ 223, „ 3, „ 50 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{\text{T|F}}{\text{PARL}}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed, similar.
- „ 224, „ 3, „ 54 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{\text{T|F}}{\text{PARL}}$.
Obverse.— „
- „ 225, „ 3, „ 50 „ *Reverse*.—Sol to left, as type, $\frac{\text{T|F}}{\text{SARL}}$.
Obverse.—Paludated, similar.
- „ 226, „ 3, „ 48.56 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{\text{T|F}}{\text{SARL}}$.
Obverse.— „
- „ 227, „ 3, „ 61 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{\text{T|F}}{\text{SARL}}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed, similar. Pl. III, No. 67.
- „ 228, „ 3, „ 38.66 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{\text{T|F}}{\text{SARL}}$.
Obverse.—Paludated, similar.
- „ 229, „ 3, „ 43 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{\text{T|F}}{\text{TARL}}$.
Obverse.— „
- „ 230, „ 3, „ 48 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{\text{T|F}}{\text{TARL}}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed, similar.
- „ 231, „ 3, „ 48.53 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{\text{T|F}}{\text{TARL}}$.
Obverse.—Paludated bust to right: IMP · CON-
STANTINVS · P · F · AVG.
- „ 232, „ 3, „ 49.57 „ *Reverse*.—Sol to right, looking back, $\frac{\text{C|S}}{\text{TARL}}$.
Obverse.—Similar.
- „ 233, „ 3, „ 39 „ *Reverse*.—Sol to left, as type, $\frac{\text{C|S}}{\text{QARL}}$.
Obverse.—Similar.

- No. 234, Æ 3, weight 47.59 gs. *Reverse*.—Similar, $\overline{\text{QARL}}$.
Obverse.— „
- „ 235, „ 3, „ 42.48 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\begin{array}{c} \text{T} \mid \text{F} \\ \bullet \mid \\ \text{QARL} \end{array}$.
Obverse.— „
- „ 236, „ 3, „ 48 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\begin{array}{c} \text{M or N} \mid \text{F} \\ \text{QARL} \end{array}$.
Obverse.— „
- „ 237, „ 3, „ 52 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\begin{array}{c} \text{S} \mid \text{F} \\ \text{QARL} \end{array}$.
Obverse.— „
- „ 238, „ 3, „ 58 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\overline{\text{MOSTP}}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed, similar.
- „ 239, „ 3, „ 69.73 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\overline{\text{MOSTP}}$.
Obverse.—Paludated, similar.
- „ 240, „ 3, „ 69 „ *Reverse*.—Sol to right, looking back, $\overline{\text{MOSTP}}$.
Obverse.—Similar. Pl. III, No. 68.
- „ 241, „ 3, „ 66 „ *Reverse*.—Sol to left, as type, $\overline{\text{MOSTS}}$.
Obverse.—Similar.
- „ 242, „ 3, „ 75 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\overline{\text{MOSTS}}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed, similar.
- „ 243, „ 3, „ 69 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\overline{\text{MOSTQ}}$.
Obverse.—Paludated, similar.
- „ 244, „ 3, „ 57.87 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\begin{array}{c} \text{F} \mid \text{T} \\ \text{PLG} \end{array}$.
Obverse.—Paludated, similar. Pl. III, No. 69.
- „ 245, „ 3, „ 48 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\begin{array}{c} \text{T} \mid \text{F} \\ \text{PLG} \end{array}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed, similar. Fine work.
- „ 246, „ 3, „ 44.59 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\begin{array}{c} \text{T} \mid \text{F} \\ \text{PLG} \end{array}$.
Obverse.— „ IMP · CONSTANTINVS · AVG.
 Pl. III, No. 70.

- No. 247, Æ 3, weight 42.58 gs. *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{TF}{PLG}$.
Obverse.—Paludated bust to right: IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.
- „ 248, „ 3, „ 44.48 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{TF \bullet}{PLG}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed, similar, but P · F omitted.
- „ 249, „ 3, „ 42.48 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{TF \bullet}{PLG}$.
Obverse.—Paludated, similar.
- „ 250 „ 3, „ 54.63 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{SF}{PLG}$.
Obverse.—Cuirassed bust to right: CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.
- „ 251, „ 3, „ 68 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{SF}{PLG}$.
Obverse.— „ IMP · CONSTANTINVS · AVG.
- „ 252, „ 3, „ 50.81 „ *Reverse*.— „ $\frac{SF}{PLG}$.
Obverse.—Paludated, similar.
- „ 253, „ 3, „ 62.78 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{SF}{PLG}$.
Obverse.— „ IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.
- „ 254. „ 3 „ 46.84 „ *Reverse*.—Similar, $\frac{SF}{PLG}$.
Obverse.— „ IMP · omitted



COINS OF BURGRED, ÆTHELRED I., AND ALFRED, ILLUSTRATING
THE WATERLOO BRIDGE HOARD.

IX. CENTURY.

THE KINGDOM AND COINS OF BURGRED.

BY NATHAN HEYWOOD.

THE Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Mercia became tributary to Egbert, King of Wessex, on the death of Ludica, A.D. 825, and was afterwards governed successively by Wiglaf, 825-839; Bertulf, 839-852; and Burgred, 852-874. Burgred married Aethelswith, a daughter of Ethelwlf, King of Wessex, granddaughter of Egbert, and the sister of Ethelred I. and Alfred the Great, successive kings of Wessex.¹

When Burgred came to the throne the Danes were in occupation of southern Mercia,² but during the first year of his reign they were driven out by Æthelwlf and the West Saxons, who thereupon joined the Mercian forces, under the personal command of Burgred, in subduing the Welsh.³ Having at length obtained complete possession of his dominions he ruled in peace until 866, when the Danes in overwhelming numbers invaded East Anglia and wintered there.⁴

In the following year, 867, the enemy commenced the campaign

¹ "And upon this [subjugation of North-Welsh] after Easter Ethelwlf, King of West Saxons, gave his daughter to Burgred, King of Mercia." *Sax. Ch.* 14.

² "And the same year (851) came three hundred and forty ships to Thames mouth and the crews landed and broke into Canterbury and London, and put to flight Beorhtwulf, King of the Mercians, with his army." *Sax. Ch.* 12.

³ "Here Burhred, King of the Mercians, and his witan begged of King Æthelwlf that he would assist him so that he might make the North-Welsh obedient to him. He then did so, and went with an army across Mercia among the North-Welsh and made them all obedient to him." *Sax. Ch.* 14.

⁴ "And the same year a great heathen army came to the land of the English Nation, and took up their winter quarters among the East Angles, and they were horseled, and the East Angles made peace with them." *Sax. Ch.* 30.

by marching into Northumbria, which was at that time divided and ruled by two kings, Osbercht and Ella, who were opposed to each other.

Osbercht held his court at York, and marched outside the city with all his forces in order to prevent the Danes taking possession under the cover of darkness. Although Osbercht and Ella were at differences they agreed to unite their forces to obstruct the designs of an enemy common to both, but before the forces of Ella could reach York, the Danes made a rapid march towards the city and gave battle to Osbercht's forces, which resulted in the defeat of the Northumbrians and the death of Osbercht.

York was immediately in the possession of the invaders who, without loss of time, evacuated the city and made an attack on Ella's army, which was of considerable dimensions. The struggle was severe, but Ella was mortally wounded and his army completely routed. The Danes were now masters of Northumbria, which they used as a base of operations for the invasion of Mercia.

Whilst the Danes were at war in Northumbria Burgred was not idle, fully expecting another Danish invasion in case of the defeat of the Northumbrians. He collected a considerable force and obtained further levies of men from his brother-in-law Ethelred.

In 868 the Danes took Nottingham, which was shortly afterwards besieged by the allied armies of Burgred and Ethelred. Whilst the Danes were in this precarious position, Burgred, although at least equal in strength, but not desiring to run the risk of an engagement, offered them a sum of money to retire out of Mercia, which they readily accepted and retired to York for a year.¹

Thwarted in their design of subjugating Mercia, the Danes directed

¹ "Here the army went into Mercia to Snotengaham (Nottingham), and there took up their winter settlement. And Burgraed, King of the Mercians, and his witan, begged of Ethelred, King of West Saxons, and Aelfred his brother, that they would help them, that they might fight against the army. And then they went with the West Saxon power into Mersia as far as Nottingham, and there met the army within the fortress, and besieged them therein: but there was no great battle; and the Mercians made peace with the army. Here the army again went to York, and sate there one year." *Sax. Ch.* 40.

their attention to the conquest of East Anglia, which they successfully accomplished in 870.¹

Whilst at war with the East Anglians they did not lose sight of the fact that the subjugation of Mercia had been prevented by Ethelred, and, therefore, took the first opportunity to commence a march on Wessex.² Ethelred had prepared a large force to oppose the Danes. He divided his army into two parts: one division he commanded in person and the other was entrusted to his brother, Alfred, but after nine severely contested engagements Ethelred was mortally wounded and died at Whittingham in 872.

Alfred, on the death of his brother, was proclaimed King of Wessex, and continued the war against the Danes. After an indecisive engagement at Wilton, a treaty of peace was signed, in which the Danes agreed to retire from Wessex so long as Alfred permitted them to make any expeditions they chose against other parts of the country. They thereupon withdrew from Wessex and renewed the invasion of Mercia, and took the capital, London.

Burgred, now finding he could obtain no further assistance from Wessex, again induced the Danes for a monetary consideration to retire, and they went to Torksey in Lincolnshire, and wintered there; but their provisions having fallen short, they broke the treaty, and commenced another invasion of Mercia, but agreed for a third time to retire on payment of a large sum of money, which they obtained. But having received this last-mentioned payment, they remained in possession, and threatened to murder the King.

Burgred, finding himself without money and unable to further defend his country from their ravages, fled to Rome in 874, after having defended his kingdom for twenty-two years. There he shortly

¹ "Here the army rode across Mercia into East Anglia and took up their winter quarters at Thetford. And the same winter King Eadmund fought against them and the Danes got the victory and slew the King, subdued all the land, and destroyed all the minsters which they came to. The names of the chiefs who slew the King were Ingwair and Ubba." *Sax. Ch.*

² "Here the army came to Reading in Wessex. And three days after this two of their Earls rode forth."

afterwards died and was buried at the church of St. Mary at the English School of that city. His Queen died at Pavia in 888.

The invaders being masters of the situation, and desiring to insure their permanent occupation, immediately appointed Ceolwlf, Burgred's late minister, as their tributary King. He held possession for three years, and during that time he devoted his attention to filling his private coffers, and entirely neglected the interests of the Danes, upon whom he looked as intruders.

The coins of Burgred are all pennies. They are silver, and have on the obverse the head of the King within a single or a double circle surrounded by his name, sometimes followed by RE, REX, RECX, RE·T or REX·T (or M), and on one coin by REX A, and on another his name is spelt BVRGRD. Sometimes the legend commences at the top of the coin, but more usually at the left side, behind the King's head; and on the reverse there are four distinct types, but their chronological order has yet to be ascertained :—



1. The moneyer's name between two lines curved outwards at the ends and sometimes engrailed. Above and below, his denomination. Plate, Nos. 1-8.



2. The moneyer's name between two lines curved outwards

at the ends, but a segment of a circle above and below the denomination. Plate, Nos. 9-12.



3. The moneyer's name between two semicircles enclosing his denomination and often ornamented with clusters of three pellets in the angles. Plate, Nos. 13-20.



4. The moneyer's name between two semicircles enclosing his denomination and sometimes ornamented as on type 3, but the arcs separated in the centre and the ends curved in. Plate, Nos. 21 and 22.

The moneyer's name invariably commences to read across the centre of the coin, sometimes continuing above, sometimes below, and is followed by "MONETA" in two lines, but in one instance by "MONID." The O in MONETA is generally represented by a plain circle, but occasionally radiated into four points, or by a lozenge, and in one instance by a cross. There have been four considerable finds of his pennies namely: at Trewhiddle, Cornwall, in 1744,¹ at Gravesend in 1838,² and at White-Horse near Croydon in 1862;³ in every case the find included a varied series of contemporary currency, and finally at London, which also included sceatta of a very late period, some specimens of Ethelred and of the early type of Alfred the Great. This

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1868, p. 137.

² " " 1841, p. 14.

³ " " 1862, p. 302.

discovery was made whilst workmen were repairing the foundations on the west side of the second pier from the Surrey end of Waterloo Bridge, and nearly all the specimens were in a remarkably fine state of preservation.

The names of over 100 moneyers have been found on Burgred's coins, and it may therefore be conjectured that the coinage of this reign was plentiful, and probably required for the payment of war expenses rather than for commercial enterprise.

The following is a list of Burgred's moneyers and the types to which their names are attached :—

MONEYERS.

ADHELM	...	...	3	CEINRED	...	...	3
BEACILIA	...	...	1	CEÐELLVLF	...	...	2
BEAGITAN	...	...	3	CEÐELVΓ	...	...	2
BEAGLIA	...	...	3	CIALLA	...	...	1
BEAGSTA	...	...	3	CIALLAF...	...	...	1 . 2
BEAGSTAN	...	...	3	CIALLIAF	...	...	2
BEARNE	...	...	3	CVNEHE...	...	...	3
BEARNEA	...	...	3	CVNEHEL	...	...	1 . 2 . 3
BEARHEAM	...	...	3	CVNEHLC	...	...	1 . 2
BERAHM ¹				CVNEHELM	...	...	1 . 2 . 3
BERANH...	...	...	3	CVNEHEML	...	...	2
BERHAM ¹				CVNEHL...	...	...	1 . 2 . 3 . 4
BERHEAM	...	...	3	CVNEHLM	...	...	1 . 2 . 3 . 4
BERNEA	...	...	3	CVNEHM	...	...	2
BERNEAN	...	...	3	CVÐBERHT	...	...	3
BERNRED	...	...	1	CVÐERE	...	...	3
BERHTEL ¹				CVÐHERE	...	...	3
BERHÐELM	...	...	3	CVÐMVND	...	...	3
BERLM	...	...	3	CVÐNEM			
BEVRNI	...	...	3	DADA	...	...	3
BHLGHLM	...	...	1	DAGELTE	...	...	3
BIARNVLF ¹				DEALGE...	...	...	3
BIORNOÐ	...	...	3	DEALINC	...	...	3
BLEHTICI ^{1 2}				DEALA	...	...	3
CEALLAF	...	...	2	DELA	...	...	3
CEDLIAF	...	...	2	DIA	...	...	3
CENRED	...	...	1 . 2 . 3	DIAINLE ¹			

¹ *Ruding.*² *Archæologia*, ix, p. 188.

DIARVFL	...	...	3	EDELSTAN	...	...	3
DIARVL ...	...	...	2	EDELVFF	...	...	2
DIARVLF	...	...	1 . 2 . 3 . 4	EDELVL	...	...	2
DIARVLF	...	...	1	EDELVLF	...	...	1 . 2 . 3 . 4
DIARVALD ¹				EÐERED ¹			
DIARVIL ¹				EÐEVLF	...	...	3
DIARVVLF	...	...	3	FRAMRIC	...	...	2
DIGA ...	...	...	2 . 3	GERNÐE	...	...	3
DVDA ...	...	...	1 . 2 . 3	GEVNÐE	...	...	1
DVDD ¹				GVDHEM ¹			
DVDDA ...	...	...	1 . 2 . 3 . 4	GVÐMVND	...	...	3
DVDEC ...	...	...	1	GVÐERE	...	...	2 . 3
DVDECI ...	...	...	2	GVÐHELE	...	...	3
DVDECIL	...	...	1 . 2 . 3	GVÐHERE	...	...	2 . 3
DVDECL	...	...	1	HASSA ...	...	...	3
DVDELM ¹				HATWIC ²			
DVDEMA	...	...	1	HEAGLE ¹			
DVDEMAN	...	...	1	HEAVVL	...	...	3
DVDEMTAN ¹				HEAVVLF	...	...	1 . 3
DVDIVVNE	...	...	3	HEREFER	...	...	3
DVDNE ¹				HEREFERÐ	...	...	1 . 3
DVDVVINE	...	...	1 . 3	HEREFFRÐ	...	...	1
DVDVVNE	...	...	1	HEREMELÐ ¹			
DVÐDA ...	...	...	1 . 3	HEVVG ...	...	...	1
EADLVF	...	...	3	HEVVLF	...	...	1 . 2
EADLVLF	...	...	3	HVGERE	...	...	3
EADNOD	...	...	3	HVGERED	...	...	1 . 2 . 3
EADNOD	...	...	3	HVSSA ³ ...	...	...	1 . 2 . 3
EADVLF	...	...	1 . 3	HVÐERE	...	...	2 . 3
EALDOLF	...	...	3	HVÐHERE	...	...	2 . 3
EALDVLF	...	...	3	IDIGA ...	...	...	3
EANARL...	...	...	3	INCA (White-Horse find)			
EANBED...	...	...	3	LEFE ...	...	...	3
EANRED...	...	...	2 . 3	LEFLE ...	...	...	3
ELFEAR	...	...	3	LIAFMA ...	...	...	1
EÐELAFLI	...	...	2	LIAFMAN	...	...	2
EÐELALL	...	...	2	LIAFVALD	...	...	3
EÐELHEA	...	...	3	LIFVALD	...	...	3
EÐELHEAH	...	...	3	LVDE ...	...	...	3
EÐELLAF	...	...	3	LVDIG ...	...	...	1 2
EÐELRED	...	...	3	LVLA ...	...	...	3

¹ Ruding.

² Lindsay.

³ In one instance, NYSSA, type 3.

LVLLA ...	...	...	3 . 4	TIDHELM ...	...	...	3
MAMMAN ¹				TIDHLEM ...	...	...	3
MESSA ...	...	...	3	VVLFBED ...	...	...	3
NVMA ...	...	...	3	VVLFEARD ...	...	...	1 . 3 . 4
OSMVND ...	...	...	1 . 3	VVLFERD ...	...	...	3
OSMVNE ¹				VVLFRED ...	...	...	3
OSMVVND ...	...	...	1 . 3	VVHNE ...	...	...	2
OSSIVND ...	...	...	1 . 3	VVINE ...	...	...	1 . 2 . 3 . 4
TATA ...	...	...	1 . 2 . 3	VVVLFEARD ...	...	...	1 . 3 . 4
TATEL ...	...	...	1 . 3	VVLFERD ...	...	...	3
TIDEHELM ...	...	...	3				

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATE.

The coins illustrated on the plate are now in the collection of Mr. Carlyon-Britton, and their fine state of preservation is typical of the condition of the bulk of the Waterloo find. The lettering is so clear that it is unnecessary to append a detailed list of the readings: attention, however, may be called to the following:—

Nos. 1–8. Burgred, type 1.

No. 1 and No. 5 Burgred, reverse design engrailed.

„ 5 Burgred, the title reads **REXT**, for “King of the Mercians.”

„ 6 Burgred, double circle on the obverse and on the reverse a row of pellets above and below the curved lines.

„ 7 Burgred, similar obverse to No. 6.

Nos. 8 and 10 Burgred, the letter **O** in the reverse is radiated.

„ 9–12 Burgred, type 2.

No. 9 Burgred, the title reads **REX M**.

„ 12 Burgred, the legend on the obverse commences at the top of the coin and the letter **O** on the reverse is represented by a lozenge.

Nos. 13–20 Burgred, type 3.

No. 13 Burgred, the **X** in **REX** is duplicated.

„ 17 Burgred, as No. 12, except as to type, the title **REX M**, and workmanship, which last is of unusual character for this reign. Compare No. 20.

„ 18 Burgred, additional pellets on the reverse.

„ 20 Burgred, as No. 17, but the title is **REX TLO**, probably for *Rex Merciorum*.

Nos. 21–22 Burgred, type 4.

No. 21 Burgred, the legend on the obverse commences at the top of the coin.

„ 23 Æthelred.

„ 24 Alfred.

¹ Trewhiddle find

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE OXFORD PENNIES OF THE *OHSNAFORDA* TYPE.

BY ALFRED ANSCOMBE, F.R.Hist.S., *Honorary Secretary*.

THE first plate of the first volume of *The British Numismatic Journal*, Fig. 14, gives a representation of one of the so-called *Orsnaforda* coins of King Alfred which is in the collection of Mr. Carlyon-Britton. The inscription on the obverse of this coin is:—*ÆLFRED* across the middle of the field followed by a cross pattée, with the letters *ORSNÆ* above and *FORDÆ* below, and a group of pellets, 1-2-1, above, and a similar group below the legend. The reverse shows three crosses pattée side by side across the middle of the field, with the letters *BERIIV* above the crosses; the letters *ALRDMO* below them, and two groups of four pellets disposed and arranged as on the obverse. The inscription on this particular coin very closely resembles that on one of the coins in the British Museum, namely, *Alfred: No. 146*, but the inscriptions are not identical. The British Museum coin is one of thirty-seven grouped together by Messrs. Herbert A. Grueber and Charles Francis Keary under the type-name "*Orsnaforda*" in their *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum, Anglo-Saxon Series*, vol. ii, p. 50 (Lond. 1893).

This family of Anglo-Saxon coins has received a large share of attention of late, and not undeservedly so; for the inscription of which its members are the vehicle is interesting and instructive, whether we regard it from the historical, the palæographical, or the literary point of view. Much of the attention which has been accorded to it has been of a controversial nature, however, and that originated, as we all know, in the need to refute certain opinions that were put forward by Mr. C. L. Stainer in a monograph on *The Oxford Silver Pennies* that

was published in 1904 by the Oxford Historical Society. In this monograph Mr. Stainer relied partly, and as I think, unwisely, upon the results of errors made by artificers in preparing the dies, and his criticisms and views are founded upon extreme divergences from the true type of inscription. The arguments he advanced with regard to the origin of these coins and the identity of the minting-place were rebutted by Mr. Carlyon-Britton in *The British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ii, p. 21, and it is not necessary for me to refer to them more explicitly. But I hope to show that several reasons for assigning these coins to the Oxford mint have been overlooked, and thereby to convince Mr. Stainer that the coins are entitled to reconsideration in any future edition of his interesting work that he may see fit to issue.

I propose, then, in this paper to deal :—

- 1st. With the coins in the British Museum collection themselves ;
- 2nd. With the type of lettering upon them ;
- 3rd. With the orthographical peculiarity in the name of the mint that has puzzled so many of us ;
- 4th. With the grammar and meaning of the inscription ;
- 5th. With the probable date of the issue.

1. *The Coins.*—My observations on the coins of this class will be confined to those preserved in the national collection. As I have said already that collection comprises thirty-seven specimens. Thirty-one of these are more or less respectable pieces of money ; five others are blundered pennies, and there is one blundered halfpenny. The quality of the silver of which these pennies are made may be presumed to be equal to that of other coins of the same period, and the want of symmetrical outline in not a few of them does not call for comment. But the quantity of metal they contain differs widely in different coins, one being as light as 17·3 grains, and another as heavy, speaking comparatively, as 25·6 grains. That is to say, the extremes stand to each other in the proportion of 2 to 3, nearly. The aggregate weight of the thirty-six pennies is 764·9 grains, and the average weight is 20·691 grains. Twenty-eight of the pennies

range in weight from 20 grains to 22·8 grains, and four of them weigh 22 grains each, which, it will be remembered, is believed to be the correct weight for the Saxon penny. They compare in weight thus :—

Individual Weights.		Classification.		
No. of coin.	Grains.	Number of coins in each class.		Grains.
118	22	2	xvii	'3 ; '7.
119	22·5	—	—	—
120	18·3	1	xviii	'3.
—	17·7	—	—	—
—	20·7	2	xix	19.
—	21·4	—	—	—
—	24·3	11	xx	20 ; (two) ; '2 ; '4 ; '5 (two).
125	22·8	—	—	'7 (three) ; '8 ; '9.
—	22·3	—	—	—
—	25·6	—	—	—
—	19	6	xxi	21 ; '2 ; '4 ; '7 ; '8 ; '9.
—	22·5	—	—	—
130	20	11	xxii	22 (four) ; '1 ; '2 ; '3 ;
—	21·7	—	—	'5 (three) ; '8.
—	22	—	—	—
—	21·9	—	—	—
—	20·5	—	xxiii	—
135	24·4	—	—	—
—	19	2	xxiiii	24·3 ; '4.
—	17·3	—	—	—
—	20·2	1	xxv	25·6.
—	20·5	—	—	—
140	20·8	—	—	—
—	20·7	—	—	—
—	22·5	—	—	—
—	20·4	—	—	—
—	22·1	—	—	—
145	22	—	—	—
—	20	—	—	—
—	20·9	—	—	—
—	21·2	—	—	—
—	21·8	—	—	—
150	20·7	—	—	—
—	22·2	—	—	—
—	22	—	—	—
—	a halfpenny	—	—	—
—	21	—	—	—

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Numbers 119, 121, 124, 127, 128, 129, 137, 138, 139, 142, 148, 151, 153 and 154 are illustrated in the plate accompanying Mr. Carlyon-Britton's paper, and they are described by him on pp. 28-30. The coins illustrated are referred to herein by their number in the plate, set in parentheses.

The inscription on the reverse does not always correspond in relative position with that on the obverse, and the imaginary lines marking the axes of the coins vary in direction in different specimens when the coins are revolved. In some of them revolution about the horizontal axis brings the reverse right-side up; with others it is necessary to revolve them about the vertical axis in order to achieve that result; in a third class, and this is the most numerous, the inscription on the reverse is askew. The three classes severally comprise the following coins :—

1	2	3
—	|	X
118	125 144	120 142
119	126 147	121 145
124	129 149	122 146
127	130	123 148
128	135	131 150
133	136	132 151
137	140	134 152
138	143	139 154
		141

The heaviest of the pennies, viz., No. 127, is a beautiful coin, perfect, I think, as to its inscription, and it is noteworthy that it has been gilded. It is not likely that this gilding has been done since 1840, when the Cuerdale hoard, of which these coins formed a part, was unearthed; and I presume, therefore, that it was done before A.D. 911, the date of the concealment, though I do not know whether the determination of the date of the operation would have much significance. This coin appears as Fig. 3 on Mr. Carlyon-Britton's plate, and has the following inscription on it :—obverse, **ÆLFRED** across

the middle of the field, with $\text{OHSA}\mathfrak{N}$ above and $\text{FORD}\mathfrak{N}$ below, and a group of four pellets 1-2-1, above, and a similar group below. On the reverse:—three crosses pattée side by side across the middle of the field with the letters BERNV above, and \mathfrak{ALDMO} below. The letter which represents M on this coin is gallows-shaped and very peculiar.

The syllables that I have written down as OHSNA are usually pronounced *oh'sna*, but that is an oversight. In Anglo-Saxon orthography of the end of the ninth century and of a great part of the tenth, *hs* stands, though not very often, for *x*, as I shall explain more fully presently. Where I refer in this paper to the *Ohsnaforda* type, it is to be understood that the whole series of Alfred's coins which is commonly spoken of as the "Orsnaforda" series, is intended.

2. *The Lettering of the Inscription.*—On the partly-gilded coin, No. 127, the lettering is of the type known as Hiberno-Saxon, as we should expect; but there are peculiarities about it which would seem to point to an earlier rather than to the later part of the period during which that beautiful script was cultivated. The different letters that occur on this coin, and on two other coins, viz.:—Nos. 139 and 142 (Figs. 8 and 1), are fifteen in number. They are:—A, \mathfrak{AE} , B, D, E, F, H, L, M, N, O, R, S, U, V. Of these, \mathfrak{AE} , B, H, M, S, U, V, occur once; E, F, L, N, occur twice each, and A, D, O, R, occur three times each. On many other coins of the *Ohsnaforda* type numerous blunders appear in the lettering, but it can be shown that the more important of these blunders reflect the peculiarities which inform the inscription and the style of No. 127.

Before entering upon the consideration of the letters seriatim some attention should be paid to the mistakes made by the cuneators in preparing the dies. Some of the fifteen letters of the inscription on different coins are recumbent; others are inverted; those in a third class are fractured; in a fourth there are the "looking-glass" letters; and in the fifth class the letters are still worse confused, being both "looking-glass" and inverted. It is customary to speak of the looking-glass letter as retrograde, but it may be suggested that we should do better to reserve that term for the reverse order of letters in words and

words in inscriptions, and I suggest, though not without diffidence, that numismatists might borrow a term from the science of heraldry in order to name the looking-glass letter with precision. The open hand in armorial bearings is more frequently borne with the palm forward, but sometimes the back of the unclosed hand is shown and then the charge is spoken of as "dorsed"; now that, it seems to me, is just the term that fits certain characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon cuneator's handiwork—that is to say, his letters are sometimes dorsed.

Of the fifteen letters, then, which make up the four words of the inscription, A and S are found recumbent; A, F, L, M are found inverted; Æ, E, and H, are found fractured; B, D, E, L, N, R, S, are found dorsed; Æ, F, L, are found dorsed and inverted; and S is found dorsed and recumbent. In addition to these opportunities for going wrong which the cuneators have afforded us, there are numerous misrepresentations of individual letters, and these will be noticed under the particular letter affected.

A.

When reading the inscription on the pennies of the *Ohsnaforda* series at the British Museum I handed the specimen I regard as the actual type, viz., No. 127 (Plate, Fig. 3), to one of the numismatic experts there, explained my views to him, and asked what epigraphic objections could be raised against the coin in explanation of the fact that no prominence was given to it in the official catalogue. He replied that the only fault seemed to be the absence of the bar from the A in the ligatured Æ in the royal name. Now that omission is not incongruous with remote antiquity, inasmuch as the absence of the transverse stroke is characteristic of the majuscule A in the Rustic hand of the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries, and it is absent from other Roman hands of that period, as well as of later periods. (Appendix III.) The Rustic hand was one which employed capital letters exclusively, and was so called because it was less precise and its letters less carefully formed than the purity of the monumental Roman style demanded. The oldest book written in England which exhibits the peculiarity of the unbarred A is the celebrated psalter of

St. Augustine of Canterbury, now the Cotton MS., *Vespasian A. I.* For many centuries this psalter was supposed to have been received by Augustine from Pope Gregory the Great in about the year 600. But the ornamentation of the manuscript is characterised by distinct Hiberno-Saxon traits, and experts believe that it was not written until the end of the seventh century. Facsimiles of the psalter are given in the *Catalogue of Ancient MSS. in the British Museum*, Latin MSS., Part II, 1884, Plate XII, *et seq.*

Another and equally celebrated MS., which was written in Ireland at about the same time as the Canterbury Psalter, namely, *The Book of Kells*, not only shows the unbarred A (Appendix I), but also several other literal peculiarities which are more or less closely reflected in the inscription on the *Ohnsaforda* and other coins of King Alfred. The conversion of various tribes of Angles to Christianity in about the middle of the seventh century by missionaries from Irish monasteries was synchronous with the introduction into England of practically the same style of handwriting as that of *The Book of Kells*. Five different forms of majuscule A are found in that MS., and four of these are reflected on different coins of the *Ohnsaforda* type. The first Irish A copied by Mr. Lewis Day, viz., \mathfrak{A} , is identical with one written by the scribe of the Parker MS. of the *Saxon Chronicle*. This MS. dates from soon after A.D. 892, which was the twenty-first year of Alfred's reign. The first A, which has two horizontal bars, one joining the limbs of the letter, and the other touching the apex of it, is not found on the *Ohnsaforda* coins. The second A, viz., \mathfrak{A} , has an inverted apex instead of a bar between the limbs and is found on coins Nos. 118, 120, 135 (*bis*), 142 (Fig. 1). The third A is not found on the coins. The fourth, viz., \mathfrak{A} , is that which recurs most frequently. It has only one bar, which truncates the apex of the letter, and it is found on twenty-five coins: Nos. 118 *bis*, 120, 121 *bis* (Fig. 13), 122 *bis*, 123 *ter*, 124 *ter* (Fig. 9), 125 *ter*, 126 *ter*, 127 *ter* (Fig. 3), 128 *ter* (Fig. 4), 129 *bis* (Fig. 2), 130 *bis*, 131, 132, 133 *ter*, 134 *bis*, 135, 136 *bis*, 137 *bis* (Fig. 5), 138 *bis* (Fig. 7), 143, 145, 146 *bis*, 149 *bis*, 154 (Fig. 16). It occurs inverted on six others: Nos. 122, 125, 133, 134, 137 (Fig. 5), 138 (Fig. 7), and recumbent on No. 136.

Another A of the fourth class is the Rustic A already referred to. It has no transverse stroke at all, and from our point of view is simply a capital V inverted. It occurs on five coins: Nos. 119 (Fig. 12), 131, 139 (Fig. 8), 147, 154 (Fig. 16). Yet a fifth kind is one that, I believe, is not represented in the *Book of Kells*. It is a majuscule letter, it has no cross stroke, and its apex is capped by a blind triangle, viz., λ . Both A and V are found treated in this way on the Alfred coins—A; Nos. 119 (Fig. 12), 140, 141, 147; V:—118, 119 (Fig. 12), 125, 126, 127 (Fig. 3), 133, 137 (Fig. 5), 143. This curious form occurs, though with an open triangle, in illuminated MSS. written in the Franco-Saxon style in North-Eastern France in the time of King Alfred. In these MSS. A is frequently found capped by an inverted open triangle which often corresponds in size with the triangle formed by the inner cross-bar and the sides of the letter. Ten or more instances of this treatment are cited by Mons. L. V. Delisle as appearing in the magnificent MS. known as the second Bible of the Emperor Charles the Bald. This Charles was the father of King Alfred's stepmother, Judith, who married Baldwin I., Count of Flanders, the father of Alfred's son-in-law, Baldwin II., Count of Flanders. There is also a fine example of this letter on Fo. 15 of the gorgeous Gospel Book of St. Vaast's at Arras, a facsimile of which is given by Mons. Delisle as *Planche III.* of his monograph on *L'Evangélaire de Saint-Vaast d'Arras et la Calligraphie Franco-Saxonne du IX^e Siècle* (Paris, 1888). This little work is out of print, but I have had a copy of *Planche III.* drawn, and it is noticeable that the transverse of the initial A is broken down and disposed in such a way as to give the centre of the letter the appearance of a lozenge. (Appendix II.) A similar effect is noticeable on the four *Ohsnaforda* coins Nos. 118, 120, 135, 142 (Fig. 1). We shall have to return to Mons. Delisle's monograph in the sequel.

Æ.

The ligatured letter Æ occurs on the *Ohsnaforda* coins in the king's name only. It is fractured into I E on No. 124 (Fig. 9); it is dorsed and inverted on 137, 138, 139 (Figs. 5, 7 and 8), and it yields place to

the simple E on twelve coins:—Nos. 120, 121 (Fig. 13), 144, 146, 154 (Fig. 16), 119 (Fig. 12), 140, 141, 142 (Fig. 1), 143, 145, 147. On No. 149 the stroke of the A is bowed and the letter looks like O E ligatured.

B.

The letter B on the coins is of the upright, double-bowed, majuscule variety which is retained in modern founts of type and which serves us as a capital. The Italian penmen of the fifteenth century, who furnished the earliest printers with the models for the round letters which have been adopted in Italy and Western Europe, really reverted to ancient forms. What we know as Roman type is for the most part a modification of the forms of letters written in the ninth century in the fine MSS. spoken of as Carolingian. Modern letters have been copied at second hand, therefore, from the alphabet which was adopted in the monastic *scriptoria* of France under the influence of Charlemagne and through the instrumentality of the Englishman, Alcuin. (Compare facsimiles 4 and 5 in Mr. Madan's *Collection*.)

D.

The letter D of the *Ohsnaforda* coins is not represented in *The Book of Kells*, wherein a similar form is used for the letter O. On the coins we get a bowed letter perfectly easy to read. It is dorsed on Nos. 133, 136, 138 (Fig. 7), 153 (Fig. 6). In two or three cases, and notably so on No. 140, the shaft of the letter overtops the curve of the bow. On No. 120 the letter has a tail, which may be accidental.

E.

The letter E is quite plain on the whole, and is of the majuscule variety, as we might indeed expect, seeing that it is easier to make that letter than the round Hiberno-Saxon variety, which is practically identical with our Roman minuscule. E is intrusive in Bernvaled for Bernwald on Nos. 123, 144, 145, and it is misrepresented therein by R on Nos. 146, 147.

F.

The letter F is quite clear on all the coins except No. 149, where it is dorsed and inverted; on No. 137 (Fig. 5) where it is inverted, and on Nos. 125-130, 131, 153 (Fig. 6), where it is misrepresented by E.

H.

The letter H on the coins is quite distinct from the type of letter traced in *The Book of Kells*, which is uncial, whereas the H we are speaking of is monumental (compare Appendix, Nos. III, IV, V, VII). It has suffered numerous vicissitudes through carelessness on the part of the artificers, and is more unstable than any other letter with which we are now concerned. On the *Ohsnaforda* coins H sometimes misrepresents the letter N:—Nos. 120, 130, 131, 154 (Fig. 16); on others it stands for M:—Nos. 128 (Fig. 4), 132, 142 (Fig. 1). The letter H for M is itself misrepresented by E I on No. 122.

H and N of the majuscule variety are often found mistaken for each other in early times, and the error on the coin No. 149, where we get **ONSNA**, finds numerous parallels in MSS. of the Anglo-Saxon period (Appendix XI). Cf. *Hiridano* for *Niridano* in the More MS. of Bede's "H.E." IV, i, which was written *c.* A.D. 737 (*ed.* Plummer, p. 202). The letter H of the coin No. 127 (Fig. 3), is misrepresented by N on No. 137 (Fig. 5); by N dorsed on No. 153 (Fig. 6); by the gallows-shaped M inverted on No. 129 (Fig. 3); by V on No. 142 (Fig. 1); by V inverted on No. 139 (Fig. 8); by R on not fewer than twenty coins, viz., Nos. 118, 119 (Fig. 12), 120, 121 (Fig. 13), 122, 125, 126, 130, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 138 (Fig. 7), 140, 141, 145, 146, 147, 154 (Fig. 16); and by II on No. 149. The letter R erroneously standing for H is variously misrepresented on Nos. 123, 124 (Fig. 9), 125, 130, 131, 143. H is misrepresented by M on No. 129 (Fig. 2), as I have just remarked. This error is only found once, but the contrary instance of H misrepresenting M occurs on the three coins Nos. 128 (Fig. 4), 132, 142 (Fig. 1), where we get H O for M O, the regular abbreviation for *monctario* on the *Ohsnaforda* coins.

L.

The letter L of the coins is the pure monumental angular letter. It is dorsed on No. 134; and dorsed and inverted on No. 132, 133 *bis*, 134, 138 (Fig. 7).

M.

The monumental capital M does not appear on any of the *Ohsnaforda* coins in the national collection, nor yet do we find thereon any one of the three-stemmed varieties used by the scribe of *The Book of Kells*. The letter employed by the cuneators is the gallows-shaped M which appears on Nos. 127 (Fig. 3), 131, 133, 138 (Fig. 7). This is found inverted on No. 129 (Fig. 2) and misrepresented by majuscule H on No. 119 (Fig. 12). It would appear that this gallows-shaped letter is simply the Rustic M of the Psalter of St. Augustine, with the curved stroke raised to the top of the letter. A similar letter M is a feature of the Mæso-Gothic alphabet of the fourth century, and an example of a shrunken M is given by Lewis Day, *Alphabets, Old and New*, p. 16, from a Franco-Gallic MS. of the seventh century.

Many examples of this gallows-shaped M appear on other coins of Alfred; *vide* Keary and Grueber's Catalogue, vol. ii, pl. iv, No. 10; pl. v, No. 12; pl. vi, Nos. 1, 5, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16.

M is found misrepresented by H: on Nos. 128 (Fig. 4), 132, 134 (here we get a little wedge in place of a line), 142 (here the line is transverse and slightly dished; Fig. 1); by N: on Nos. 129, 148, 154 (Figs. 2, 10, 16); by II: on Nos. 120, 121 (Fig. 13), 123, 125, 126, 130, 135, 136, 137 (Fig. 5), 139 (Fig. 8), 140, 141, 143, 146, 147, 149; and by I: on Nos. 118, 144, 145.

N.

For the most part the letter N on the coins does not differ very much from the monumental N. The cross-bar, like that of the Rustic N, starts a little below the top of the left-hand stroke, and ends a little above the foot of the other. Hence it is not very dissimilar from the majuscule N of *The Book of Kells*. It is very different from the

eighth-century Saxon letter, however, inasmuch as its right limb is never made longer than the left, *vide* Appendix, No. V, III. The letter N is dorsed on the coins Nos. 119 (Fig. 12), 139 *bis* (Fig. 8), 140, 141, 145, 147; it is misrepresented by H on Nos. 120, 130, 131, 154 (Fig. 16); it yields place to two parallel strokes on twenty-six coins; and in four instances it is represented by one stroke only: Nos. 118, 119 (Fig. 12), 132, 145. Compare Appendix, Nos. VIII and IX for various examples of the letter N.

O.

The angular, lozenge-shaped letter \diamond does not appear on the *Ohnsforda* coins in the British Museum. On them this letter is always round, and except on No. 128 (Fig. 4) it is always closed. It is dotted both centrally and externally on Nos. 130 (with 5), 136 (with 4); externally on Nos. 127 (with 1 only; Fig. 3); 126, 128 (Fig. 4), 132 (with 2); 144 (with 3); 119 (Fig. 12), 122, 133, 134, 138 (Fig. 7), 139 (Fig. 8), 140, 145, 147 (all with 4); 120, 123, 125, 126, 143 (with 7). This treatment with dots is a familiar feature in MSS. of the period, as well as on other coins.

R.

The form of the letter R on the coins, when it is complete, is identical with that assumed by the R of the monuments and of *The Book of Kells*. It occurs frequently as a misrepresentation of H, as in the cases I have enumerated above. The forms of this letter on several coins are marked by extreme carelessness; on No. 142 (Fig. 1) the bow of the letter curves above the stem; on No. 125 the bow is not joined up to the stem and the tail is omitted; on No. 143 the bow is inverted over the stem; on Nos. 130, 131 we find a degraded form like a capital F, but with the limbs drooping; on No. 124 (Fig. 9) we get a form resembling L, but with the limb drooping; and on No. 139 (Fig. 8) we get the ultimate representative of all letters with a straight limb, namely, one stroke (in $\text{FOH}\pi$). L is misrepresented on No. 123 by a form which is accidentally identical with the Anglo-Saxon and Visigothic rectangular \sqsubset ;

Appendix, No. V. This letter is dorsed on Nos. 136, 139 (Fig. 8), and it misrepresents an intrusive E in the name of the moneyer on Nos. 146, 147.

On No. 123 (ORSNA) the bow of the letter is neither joined to the tail nor the stem, and it looks very like a K. The K of *The Book of Kells*, if the bow were thicker and not joined up to the stem, would very fairly represent the R on No. 123. It is this coin, I believe, which misled Mr. Barclay V. Head, and caused him to inform J. R. Green, the historian, that the word had been misread and that it was clearly *Oksnaforda*. This, so Green averred, is to be taken as the earliest form of the town's name. But in the first place Mr. Keary is not in doubt about this letter, for in his introduction to the second volume of the catalogue, p. xxxviii, he speaks of the difficulties latent in the alteration of it into K, and appears to be inclined to think them serious. In the second place Mr. Head is an authority on Greek coins and he would necessarily be very familiar with the forms assumed by the Greek letter *Kappa*, and even, perhaps, prepared to find it where it has no right to be, for *Kappa* has no right to a place on an Anglo-Saxon coin of King Alfred's time, inasmuch as it is not an Anglo-Saxon letter. In King Alfred's time the Latin C was regularly used for the guttural tenuis. No other coin of the *Ohsnaforda* series has any such letter, and that on which this doubtful letter is said to occur is one of the poorer specimens and has no such claims to our consideration as Mr. Head supposed. The letter K is certainly found in MSS. of the ninth and tenth centuries in the initial place in some Anglo-Saxon words. For instance, it occurs in the word *kyning* on the first page of the Hatton MS., No. 20, Appendix, No. V, which contains a copy of King Alfred's own translation into English of Pope Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, which he intended for the Bishop of Worcester, and had had written not long after 887; *kyning*, again, is the only *k*-word that occurs in that portion of the Winchester (Saxon) Chronicle (Parker's MS.) that was compiled before A.D. 893; the same word, curiously enough, is the only *k*-word in the unique copy of the *Béowulf* lay in the tenth-century Cotton MS., *Vitellius A. XV.*, and it only occurs there three times.

This rare use of K would appear to be a sort of affectation, and Mr. Henry Sweet on p. xvii of the introduction to his edition of King Alfred's *Pastoral Care* speaks of it as an archaism. I shall presently return to the consideration of the ninth-century orthography of the name of the city of Oxford.

S.

The letter S on the *Ohsnaforda* coins is very variable. On Nos. 137, 153 (Figs. 5 and 6), we find an S with an upright stem and short straight divergent horizontal limbs identical with the first example given from *The Book of Kells*. On Nos. 127, 128, 129 (Figs. 3, 4 and 2), we get the angular Σ of Anglo-Saxon script which is like a printed Z dorsed, and is frequently found in the MSS., *e.g.*, in the Hatton MS., Appendix V, line 1, and in St. Cuthbert's Gospels in the Cotton MS., *Nero D. V.*, which was written in Northumbria in about A.D. 750; *Facsimiles of Biblical MSS.*, ed. Kenyon, 1900, plate xi. On No. 149 the angular form is dorsed. On eleven coins we get the true monumental capital: Nos. 118, 119 (Fig. 12), 120, 121 (Fig. 13), 125, 126, 142 (Fig. 1), 143, 146, 147, 154 (Fig. 16). It is dorsed on Nos. 124 (Fig. 9), 130, 131, 135; dorsed and recumbent on Nos. 139 (Fig. 8), 145; and recumbent on Nos. 122, 123, 132, 133, 134, 136, 138 (Fig. 7), 140, 141.

U.

The letter U is believed to appear in the mint-name on No. 129 (Fig. 2). The second letter therein might be compared with the square-bottomed variety of U which is similar to that traced in *The Book of Kells*, Appendix I, and found on some coins and in some MSS. of the period, both Continental and Anglo-Saxon. But Messrs. Keary and Grueber have transliterated the letter by M inverted and I think there can be no doubt but that they are right. On this coin the gallows-shaped letter M in MO is rendered by N, and other variations on it point to the supposition that the cuneator was working from written instructions which he misread.

The supposed presence of the letter U on No. 129 (Fig. 2) has

caused the mint-name to be misread as *Ousnaforda*; but in the first place the diphthong *ou* has no true place in the Anglo-Saxon of the ninth century; and in the second the genitive plural in *-na* has no connexion with a river-name. The true ninth- and tenth-century form of the name of the midland Ouse is *Wusa* (*Wusan* in the oblique case), as in the annal 905 of the contemporary Parker MS. of the Chronicle. In the eleventh-century MSS. C and D, in annal 1010, we find *Usan*.

V.

The letter V properly occurs on the *Ohsnaforda* coins only in the name of the moneyer Bernvald, where it stands for W. It is a true V and represents the Rustic form of U rather than the uncial. On some of the *Ohsnaforda* coins it has the elongated and thickened apex which resembles the excrescence that is characteristic of the capitals A and V in some illuminated MSS. written in the Franco-Saxon style in the ninth century. We get v on Nos. 118, 119 (Fig. 12), 125, 126, 127 (Fig. 3), 135, 137 (Fig. 5), 143; V on Nos. 128 (Fig. 4), 129 (Fig. 2), 131, 132, 140, 141, 142 (Fig. 1), 144, 145, 146, 148 (Fig. 10), 154 (Fig. 16); and v on Nos. 124 (Fig. 9), 130, 133, 134, 138 (Fig. 7), 142 (Fig. 1). It is inverted on Nos. 120, 121 (Fig. 13), 122, 123, 136, 139 (Fig. 8), and in these cases it has the external horizontal stroke like A of the fourth class.

On No. 142 (Fig. 1) we get OVSNA and on No. 139 the V is inverted and appears as v . These accidents have been misjudged to support the erroneous reading of *Ousna* on No. 129 (Fig. 2). They are very noteworthy because no form of H could be mistaken naturally for all the letters N, M, R, and U. The carelessness of a penman who made the Rustic $\bar{\text{H}}$ so badly that one cuneator saw N and another saw M, is, of course, a possible cause of error, but the majuscule letter, whatever it really was, that could be misread M or N by two persons, and R by a third, could not possibly be supposed by a fourth to be V. The palæographical problem then that the *Ohsnaforda* coins present is—What form of letter was it that stood in the second place in the mint-name in the written instructions to

the cuneator and how came it that this letter was read or misread as H, M, N, R, and V?

On folio 15 of the Evangelarium of St. Vaast's, a facsimile of which is given by Mons. Delisle in the monograph already referred to, *Planche I*, the enlarged minuscule letter N in the word *principio* is identical in shape with the letter that stands for *u* in the word *apparuit* on folio 15; *vide* facsimile of *Planche III*, Appendix II. But the letter standing for the letter *u* in *apparuit* is not a Roman letter at all; it is the rune-letter *Ur*, the second letter of the Teutonic Futhorc. The following letters standing for *t* and *n* in the same line are barbaric likewise, being the rune-letters *Tîr* (glory) and *Njâd* (need) respectively. This page of the Gospel Book of St. Vaast's is very curious, for it presents Latin, Greek, and runic letters mingled together. Much nonsense has been written about the Teutonic rune-letters, and some writers have sought to prove that they were derived by the pre-historic Teutons from the Phœnicians. We are also assured that the Christian clergy successfully resisted the use of runes, but, as we have seen, the scribe who wrote the Evangelarium of St. Vaast's in the time of King Alfred, or a little earlier, introduced not fewer than four rune-letters on one page, one of which, the thorn-rune, he even employed for the D in *Dominus*. We find the runic *Wên* (p) on numerous English coins as late as the middle of the twelfth century, and the inscription on the baptismal font in the church at Bridekirk, although its language is English of the twelfth century, is nevertheless carved in runes. The mingling together in one word of heathen runes and Christian letters is not peculiar to the St. Vaast's MS. On a dish found at Chertsey the inscription is carved in mixed runes and decorated uncials, and this is ascribed to the ninth century; *vide* Stephens's *Runic Monuments*, No. 482. The same variety is found on Æthred's ring (*ib.*, No. 463) and in the Alnmouth inscription also (*ib.*, No. 461), both of which belong to the eighth century. All the rune-letters referred to may be found in the inscription on the celebrated runic monument erected in the tenth century at Jelling, near Veile in Jutland, by King Harold Blaatand, to the memory of his father and mother Gorm and Thyra. A facsimile of this inscription is

appended to the second volume of the *Historia Danica* of Saxo Grammaticus (*edd.* Müller & Velschow, Copenh., 1858). There is no letter H, h, in Anglo-Saxon writing of the ninth century which could be mistaken for *u*, but a glance at the facsimile of the Jelling inscription shows quite clearly that the runic *u*, found there and in the St. Vaast's MS., is an inversion of the Rustic V, the stem of which rises but very little above the knee of the letter. Compare, also, the second letter of *ousna*, No. 138 (Fig. 7). The rune-letter *u* is therefore very like the minuscule *h*. For these reasons I believe that the second letter in the mint-name in the hypothetical written instructions to the cuneators was so outlandish that one of them who did not understand the spelling OHSNA, and who was acquainted with runes, supposed that this was the rune-letter *u*, and accordingly transliterated it by the Roman V when preparing the obverse die ; while another cut the rune itself, as on No. 138 (Fig. 7).

We must now return to the letter H. As I have said already this letter on the *Ohsnaforda* coins is different from that found in *The Book of Kells*. In the syllables OHSNA on No. 127, we find the ancient capital H which we moderns have retained, and which is quite distinct from the uncial, the half-uncial, and the cursive forms. These latter are practically the small Roman letter of the modern printing-press. Different from them and also from the pure Roman capital, though in a smaller degree, is the Rustic letter H, which is the H of the monuments written negligently and ornamented with a flourish or two. In the Psalter of St. Augustine already referred to under the letter A, the letters H, M, and N are all constructed with two upright stems : H has a straight horizontal bar ; N has a sloping bar from the left downwards ; and M has a curved stroke thicker on the left side than on the right and touching both the upright stems in the middle. The similarity of these three letters in the Rustic hand, to which the unbarred A resembling that of the coins also belongs, is so great that the least carelessness in marking the cross-bar of any of them would lead to confusion, even in the more exact style of the seventh-century Psalter. In some other early MSS. the Rustic capital H is different from that of the Psalter. For instance, it is similar to the capital K in the venerable

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MS. of the poems of Prudentius, which probably belonged to Mavortius, consul in the year 527.¹

In another MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, formerly *MS. du Roi*, Nro. 653, which was written in the ninth century and which contains Pelagius's Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul, the letter H is very like our small letter *n*, written large, only the knee of the letter has a little serif or tongue, and this addition makes the letter very remarkable; *vide* Planche 36, *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, 1757. Tome iii, where, in example viii, last line, we get an illustration of this; see Appendix X. This serif is really the debased upper half of the right-hand stem of the letter, which, instead of being perpendicular, inclines outward to the right. We find this curious letter very frequently used as the abbreviation for the Latin word *autem*, which was erroneously spelt with the letter *h*, the difference being that the stem of the symbol is normal in height, whereas that of the Rustic H in the Pelagius MS. is very little taller than the knee of the letter. It is obvious that these peculiarities would make it very difficult for one who did not know the letter to determine what it really was. Such a one would not identify it as H, but might suppose it was N or R. R for H appears on the coins in twenty-two instances. The opposite mistake of H for R is found in a conspicuous position in the ninth-century Gospel Book of St. Vaast's already referred to. Therein, on folio 26, the opening of the Gospel proper for St. Agnes's Day is given as "*Simile est regnum caelorum ho*" instead of *simile . . . thesauro*. These errors, coupled with the positive evidence of the existence of such a letter in the ninth-century Pelagius MS., point to a form of majuscule H in which the cross-bar has been enhanced to the top of the letter, with the result that some readers misread it as a minuscule *n*, and others as a minuscule *r*. Handwriting had become tolerably uniform in the South of England before Alfred's death (*cf.* H. Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts*, E.E.T. Soc., No. 61, 1885, p. 421) so that deviations from the normal forms would run great risk of being misunderstood. The general characteristics of the handwriting of

¹ See Mons. L. Delisle's *Note sur le MS. de Prudence, No. 8084 du fonds latin de la Bibliothèque Impériale*.

Alfred's time are lightness, freedom, and elegance (*idem*, Alfred's version of Pope Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, E.E.T. Soc., No. 38, 1871, Introd. p. xvii). The chief peculiarities cluster round the letter *r*, which has four shapes. The first that of our capital R, but small; the second like the first, but with the stem lengthened below the line, like the R in the word *Corinthios* already referred to, Appendix X, and the K in the Hatton MS., *Nro.* 20; the third that of the ordinary A.-S. type; the fourth like that of the third but with a short stem. The last stroke of all these is always turned up at the end, and that distinguishes the fourth shape of this letter from the letter *n*. If we had only the variations of the syllables *Ohsna* in *r* and *n* to consider these accidents might be put forward as the solution of the problem; but the Anglo-Saxon *h*, whether minuscule or capital, could never be confused with the Anglo-Saxon *r*; though the capital H could be confounded with the capital N; compare the facsimiles in the Appendix. Moreover, cuneators who were accustomed to use the gallows-shaped M might be excused for supposing that the Rustic H with the cross-bar enhanced was intended for that letter; but they could not make such a mistake over the Anglo-Saxon H and *h*. I am aware that the most debased form of the uncial *h* approximates closely to that of our minuscule *n*; *vide* Dr. Anton Chroust's *Monumenta Palaeographica: Denkmäler der Schreibkunst des Mittelalters*, 1904, Lieferung XI, Tafel 2, lines 22, 34, which gives the facsimile of a page of a seventh-century MS. preserved at Vienna in which the small *h* is exactly like our small *n*; but I do not think that there is any need to multiply causes. Consequently as three of the variants of the H in *Ohsnaforda*, viz.: N M, and R, indicate the existence of a letter unlike any letter in Anglo-Saxon script in Alfred's time, and as we also get *Ousna* (with the runic *n*), and that misreading, as I have shown, points directly to an original letter H with a shortened stem and a knee like the Roman minuscule *n*, I conclude that a letter H similar to the Rustic H of the ninth-century Pelagius MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale is postulated by the misreadings we have passed in review and may be held responsible for all of them.

3. *The Orthography of the mint-name Ohsnaforda.*—I come now to the orthographical peculiarity in the word *Ohsnaforda* which has puzzled so many numismatists, namely, the representation of the guttural tenuis and the sibilant, in contact, by *hs* instead of by *x*. This is not truly Anglo-Saxon and the Old Teutonic dialects fall into two groups accordingly as these sounds are represented in them by one letter or by a digraph. Anglo-Saxon, Old Norse and Old Frisian employed the letter *x*, while Gothic, Old High German and Continental Saxon wrote *hs*. The words for "ox" in the A.-S., O.N. and O.F. dialects are *oxa*, *uxi*, *oxa*, respectively, and in Gothic, O.H.G. and O.S. they are *auhsan*, *ohso*, and *ohs*, respectively. In this connection I must point out that Mr. Stainer's suggestion that the orthographical peculiarity we are considering is attributable to Danish influences is quite gratuitous. Not only did old Norse employ the letter *x*, but the genitive plural of the O.N. word *uxi*, "an ox," is *oxna*, which is, of course, identical in spelling and meaning with the A.S. word *oxna*. It is possible that the identity of form shown by the Latin X, the Greek X (chi) and the runic letter for G, which is X in some Futhorcs, may have occasioned the peculiar spellings, "Ocx," "Recx," in the eleventh century (*vide The Oxford Silver Pennies*, Cnut, Type XIV, 1, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 17, 20, 21). But the occurrence of *hs* for *x* on the *Ohsnaforda* coins is not connected with Danish, *i.e.*, Old Norse, peculiarities in any way.

As I just now intimated, the representation of *x* by *hs* is not quite foreign to Anglo-Saxon. In the tenth century we find it in the Saxon Chronicle in the annal DCCCCXI. The Winchester Chronicle (Parker's MS.) which, practically speaking, is continuously contemporary with the events recorded after Ethelred's reign, gives us, at that year, *Ða geascade se cyng*, *i.e.*, "then the king ascertained"; but the three later MSS. all write *geahsode* (*vide* Benjamin Thorpe's edition of the Saxon Chronicle, "R.B.SS." No. 23, 1861, i, 184, 185). This annal, I would remark in passing, is that treated by Mr. Andrew in his paper on *Buried Treasure* in the Society's first volume, where he connects the Cuerdale hoard with our national history and with the folk-tales of the district in which that hoard lay concealed for so many centuries.

In the next annal to DCCCCXI. we get the earliest notice of Oxnaford that occurs in the Saxon Chronicle, that in the annal DCCCCX., in MS. D, being excepted, and there the references may have been misplaced by the annalist. In all the MS. copies of the Saxon Chronicle at present known, the name of the town is written with the letter *x*. *hs* in *geahsode* undoubtedly represents the sounds more frequently written down by *x*, and in this word and in *rixian*, "to rule," by *cs*. In annal DCCCCXVIII. we get *niehstum*, *neshtan* and *nehstan* in MSS. A, B, and C respectively, and in MS. D we get *nyxtan*. We find also *hs* in *niehstum* in the Winchester Chronicle in A.D. DCCCCXI., but these letters do not represent *x* in this word, neither do they in *nehst* in annals DCCCLXXVIII. and DCCCXCIV., inasmuch as the contact of the two letters results from the syncope of the short vowel in the hypothetical form *niehost*: consequently the *x* of MS. D really represents *hs* of the earlier MSS. instead of the converse being the case. In his *The Oldest English Texts* (E.E.T. Soc., No. 61, 1885) Mr. Henry Sweet indexes two or three instances of the disappearance of this *h* before *s* in these superlatives, which consequently appear as *hesta* and *nesta*, for "highest" and "nighest." *Hs* for *x* is found in other MSS., but very rarely. In King Alfred's translation of Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophie*, the Cotton MS. of which, namely, *Otho A. VII*, was written in about A.D. 950, the verb *ahsian* occurs three times spelt with the digraph, and no other word is so spelt in this MS., the letter *x* occurring regularly more than seventy times. The verb *weaxan* and its forms occur seventeen times in the MS., and they are always spelt with *x*. (*Vide* Mr. W. J. Sedgefield's edition published in 1899.) In the tenth-century Cotton MS., *Vitellius A. XV*., which contains the *Béowulf* poem, we also find forms of the verb *acsian*, "to ask," spelt with *hs* (see lines 423, 433, 1,206). The letter *x* occurs more than thirty times in this MS., which was edited last in 1898 by Mr. A. J. Wyatt, and *hs* occurs in it only four times at most. For these reasons we may rightly assert that the representation of the guttural tenuis and the sibilant by *hs* very rarely occurs in Anglo-Saxon documents of the tenth century.

It is not clear when the digraph began to be used instead of *x*,

and there is no instance of it in the Chronicle itself earlier than King Alfred's time. (Cf. Mr. Plummer's Glossary, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, vol. i.) But in the Hatton MS., *Nro.* 20, in the Bodleian Library, which was written not very long after the year 887, as I have already remarked, and which contains King Alfred's version of Pope Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, the digraph makes its appearance in the words *weahsan* and *weahsað*. In the Lauderdale MS. of King Alfred's translation of Orosius, too, which is also in the Bodleian, and which was written in the same decade as the Hatton MS., we find *geahsian* spelt with the digraph.¹

It would appear, therefore, that the deliberate use of *hs* in place of *x* dates from the latter part of King Alfred's reign. Now, in the first place, as I have said already, the use of *hs* for *x* is a characteristic of Old or Continental Saxon orthography; in the second place, in the preface to his translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, Alfred says: "I translated into English the book which is called in Latin *Pastoralis*, and in English *Shepherd's Book*, sometimes word by word, and sometimes according to the sense as I have learnt it from Plegmund, my archbishop, and Asser my bishop, and Grimbold my mass-priest, and John my mass-priest. And when I had learnt it as I could best understand it, and as I could most clearly interpret it, I translated it into English, and I intend to send a copy to every bishopric in my kingdom"; and in the third place it was this very bishop Asser who wrote the life of Alfred, and who tells us therein that this John, a priest and monk, was an Old-Saxon by birth, who had been invited over to this country from the Continent by the king, and had become one of Alfred's instructors in the liberal arts.

The connection is clearly made out, therefore, between (1) the Old-Saxon spelling of *ohs* for "ox"; (2) the presumably novel forms of *weahsan* in translations made by King Alfred with the assistance of an Old-Saxon, among others; and (3) the orthography of the mint-name on the *Ohsnaforda* coins. Consequently, I think that there need be no doubt that the spelling of that name on the British

¹ I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Napier and Mr. Falconer Madan of the Bodleian Library for the knowledge of these three instances.

Museum coin *Alfred*, No. 127, is not the result of a casual blunder, but is intentional and systematic, and is due to foreign influences brought to bear on Alfred by John the Old-Saxon.¹

4. *The Grammar and Meaning of the Inscription.*—The inscription on No. 127 (Fig. 3), the real type of the *Ohsnaforda* coins, is therefore correctly struck as—OHSNAFORDA : ÆLFRED : BERNVALD : MO. The name of the mint is compounded of *ohsna*, an Anglo-Saxon genitive plural of the weak declension of nouns substantive, meaning “of oxen”; and *forda*, which is the dative singular of the Anglo-Saxon word *ford*, and means “at the ford.” Some writers appear to regard “Ohsnaforda” as if it were the latinized form of the name of Oxford; but that is wrong,

¹ I believe that there is another trace of Old-Saxon influence in the greater particularity with which Asser, Bishop of St. David's in Pembrokeshire, records the total eclipse of the sun on October 29th, 878. The middle of this eclipse coincided with 1.30 p.m. on the meridian of Paris, and this was in the eighth ecclesiastical *hora*. The Saxon Chronicle and Asser's *Life of King Alfred* assign the eclipse to the year DCCCLXXIX. In both authorities the year commences on September 1st, four months earlier than our year. The Chronicle merely says that the sun was darkened for one hour; Asser, however, implies that the eclipse coincided with the tenth hour, but was nearer Nones than Vespers. Such a report could not possibly be correct for any part of South Britain, or for Gaul, West of Paris. If we would localise the source of Asser's information we must look to the East of Paris. This source in all probability was the monastery of New Corbey in Old-Saxony, or Westphalia, from which abbey it has been suggested that Alfred's mass-priest John, the Old-Saxon, originally came. Local time at New Corbey is twenty-six minutes later than Paris time, and as the ecclesiastical *hora* on the day in question is forty-nine minutes long, the hour during which the sun was in eclipse was current from 1.31 p.m. to 2.20 p.m. Vespers, or the tenth hour, coincided at New Corbey on this day with 3 p.m.; consequently, the statement made by Asser, though untrue for any part of Britain, is exactly applicable to New Corbey. There the eclipse was seen “inter nonam et vesperam,” *i.e.*, between 1.22 p.m., the beginning of the ninth hour, and 3 p.m., the end of the tenth, when the office of Vespers was performed; “sed propius ad nonam,” but nearer to Nones, because it continued, as I remarked just now, from 1.31 to 2.20. One of the first abbots of New Corbey was Wala, a brother of Adalhard, its founder, who was abbot of Corbie. Wala died in A.D. 836, and we are told that his mother was an Old-Saxon. For these reasons I think there need be no doubt but that Asser derived his particular information about the eclipse from John, and unwittingly applied it to England.

though it certainly is curious in view of the connexion with oxen that the word *forda* is Latin for "a cow in calf." The word *Ohsnaforda* on the coin undoubtedly locates the minting-place and means "at Oxford." The word *forda* occurs uncompounded in annal DCCCXCIIII. in the Parker MS. of the Saxon Chronicle (p. 85, ed. Plummer, line 3, up); and in the annal DCCCCXII. in MSS. A, B, and C, we are told that King Edward took possession of London and Oxford and all the land that was in the jurisdiction of those cities on the death of his brother-in-law Ethelred, the ealdorman of the Mercians. The phrase used is *feng to Oxnaforda*, and *on* and *to* both governed the dative. *On Oxnaforda*, as in the Laud MS. of the Chronicle in annals MXIII., MXXXVI., and MXXXVIII., means "at Oxford," and there ought to be no doubt, therefore, about the meaning of this word on the coin.

The word *Ælfred* requires no elucidation; it is the name of the great king who ruled in Southern England from the spring-time in A.D. 871 to October 25 in the year 900, counting the years as we count them, or DCCCCI., as the chroniclers counted who began the year on September 1, four months earlier than we do.

Bernvald is the name of the moneyer and it appears in the Kentish dialect form. On one coin of the *Ohsnaforda* series, namely, No. 149, we get Biernvald, with *ie* instead of *e*, and this is the contemporary West-Saxon form of the name, which may also be latent in the confusion of the inscription on the blundered penny, No. 152.

The meaning of the letters **MO** after the moneyer's name is in dispute. They may represent either *moneta*, or *monetarius*, or *monetario*. These letters occur in other inscriptions and notably on coins of King Athelstan, Alfred's grandson; *e.g.*, Nos. 77 and 78 of the British Museum Catalogue. On both these coins there is a mark of contraction over the space between **M** and **O**, showing that the **O** is not that of the first syllable of either of the nominatives *moneta* or *monetarius*, but the last syllable of the ablative *monetario*. The legends on these two coins of Athelstan, when the abbreviations are expanded, are:—No. 77: *ÆDELSTAN REX TOTIUS BRITANNIAE, INGELRICO Monetario OXonii VRBI*; No. 78: *ÆDELSTAN REX WYNELMO*

Monetario OXoniensis VRBIS. These inscriptions are obviously not identical in meaning, inasmuch as we are given to understand that No. 77 was struck at Oxford by Ingelric the moneyer, and that No. 78 was struck by Wynelm the moneyer of Oxford. In the case of the *Ohsnaforda* coins it may be that we ought to understand and supply some such form of words as that actually inscribed on some of the coins of Alfred and his contemporaries, namely, ME FEC for "*me fecit*." Such a formula as the one required occurs on the famous enamelled jewel found many years ago near Athelney, and now preserved in the Bodleian, namely, AELFRED MEC HEHT GEƿYRCAN—"Alfred ordered me to be made." If then, we supply this form of words the inscription on the gilded *Ohsnaforda* coin No. 127 would mean: Alfred (ordered me to be made) at Oxford by Bernwald the moneyer.

The Latin word *monetari-us* is represented by the Anglo-Saxon *myneter*, the parent of our word "minter." It seems to have been used ambiguously in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, for William of Malmesbury, in his history *De Regum Gestis Anglorum* (V. 399, p. 476, ed. Wm. Stubbs, D.D., "R.B.SS.," No. 90, 1887-8), speaks of the severities practised by order of King Henry I. "*Contra trapezitas* (MS.—*etas*) *quos vulgo monetarios vocant*," i.e., against the trapezites whom they commonly call moneyers. The word trapezita is the Greek *τραπεζίτης*, which is derived from *τράπεζα*, "a money-changer's table." "Trapezita" in William of Malmesbury, then, means a money-changer, and corresponds with the Latin *mensarius* or *argentarius*, who was one that used to set up his table and exchange current coin for valuables. It is clear that the money-changer was not the actual striker of the coins, but probably an official appointed by the moneyer, and it is to this popular and early confusion between the moneyer and the money-changer that one of Mr. Stainer's difficulties with the records is attributable. The annalists of Waverley and Winchester, and the monk of Peterborough who continued the Saxon Chronicle to 1154, as well as William of Malmesbury, relate certain things about the misdemeanours and the punishment of the moneyers which Mr. Stainer is unable to reconcile with the accepted deductions

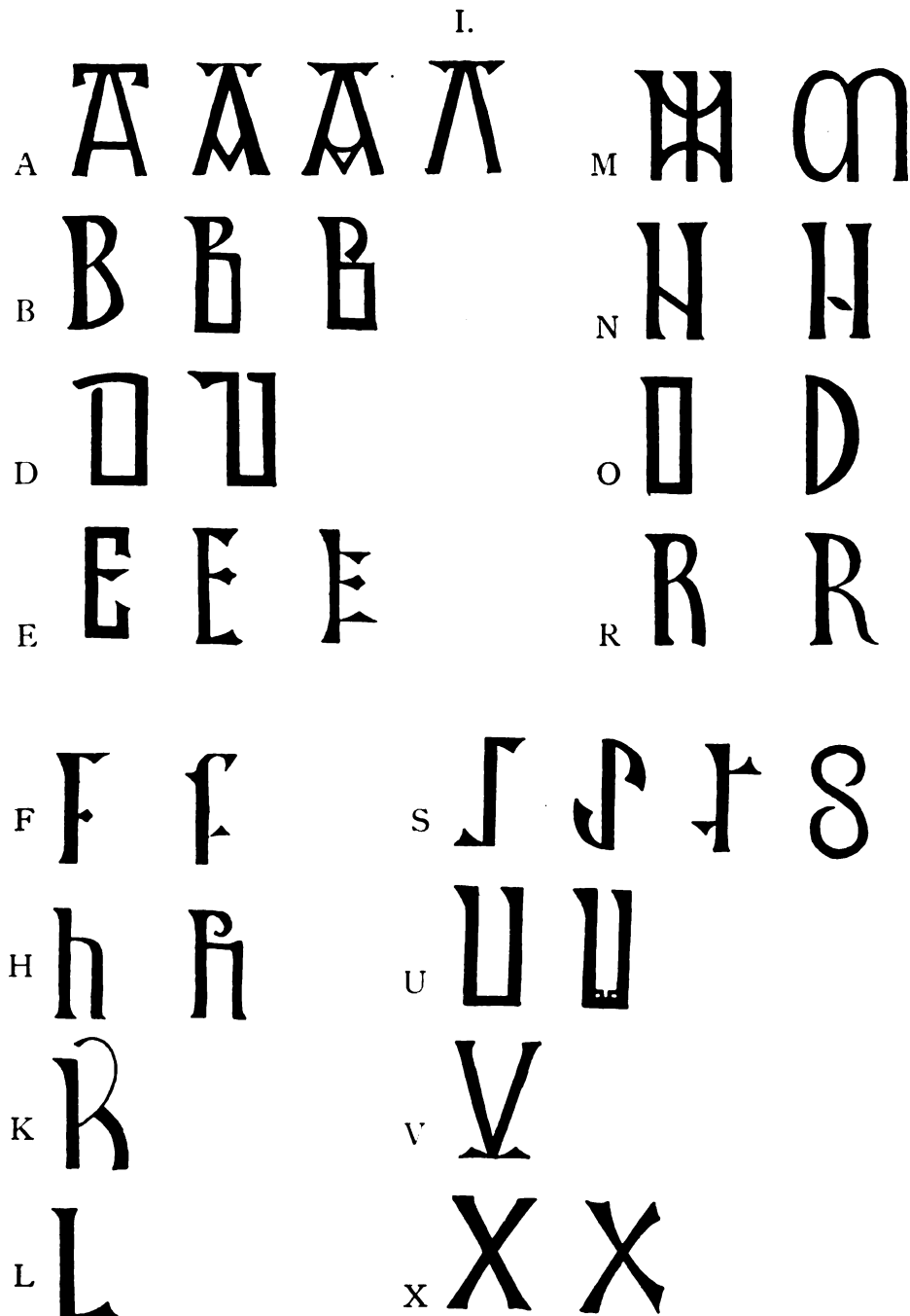
respecting the legal status and responsibility of the King's mint-masters. The Peterborough Chronicler tells us that in the year 1125 "the penny was so bad that a man who had a pound could not lay out twelve pence thereof at market for anything"; that is to say, the booth and stall-keepers in the market-place could only accept a few of the pennies in payment for their wares, although the would-be purchaser might have a pound's-worth of them. The passage is badly rendered by Thorpe, vol. ii, p. 221, but I believe I have given the meaning of it, and in view of the ambiguity glanced at by Malmesbury there need be no difficulty in accepting both what Mr. Stainer brings additional evidence to support, namely, the high social and legal status of those *monetarii* who were the king's officers, and whose names appeared on the coins, and also what the chroniclers tell us about the degrading mutilation of the other *monetarii* who were money-changers and who were made responsible for the forgeries complained of, and, rightly or wrongly, punished for them.

5. *The Probable Date of the Issue of the Ohsnaforda Pennies.*—In 886 King Alfred was able to restore London, and in the words of the *Saxon Chronicle* at that year, "all the Angle race that were not in thralldom under the Danes submitted to him, and then he entrusted London to the government of the ealdorman Ethelred." The English of Northumbria, East Anglia, and the northern and eastern counties of Mercia were all in subjection to the Danes at that time, and the only Angles who could put themselves under the protection of a West-Saxon king were those Mercians who were in constant danger of attack from the Danes of the five towns of Leicester, Lincoln, Stamford, Nottingham and Derby. These free Mercians were those dwelling in the shires bordering on the Severn and the Thames. Of the shires near the latter river Oxfordshire seems to have been less molested than the others, and when the Danes conquered the north part of Mercia in 874 the bishop's see was removed from Leicester and set up at Dorchester in that county. We may read in annal 912 what is really a complementary statement of that made in annal 886, viz. :—
 "In this year Ethelred, the ealdorman of the Mercians, died, and King

Edward took possession of London and Oxford and all the territory that belonged thereto." In the earlier annal Oxford is not mentioned, perhaps because it had not then become for a time the leading town of Mercia outside the districts dominated by what were known later as the Five Burghs. The remarks of J. R. Green on this point in *The Conquest of England* (1883), are noteworthy. He is about to speak of the *Ohsnaforda* coins, and he says (p. 144), "How thoroughly Ælfred asserted royal rights in mid-Britain may be seen indeed from his Mercian coinage. Coinage in the old world was the unquestioned test of kingship and a mint which Ælfred set up at Oxford within the borders of the Mercian Ealdormanry proves even more than the submissive words of Witan or Ealdorman the reality of his rule." This picture is rather too high in tone, but there need be no doubt about the importance of the events woven into it, and Alfred's Mercian coinage, as Green calls it, should not, it is obvious, be assigned to a year very distant from that in which the submission of the unconquered remnant of the Mercians to him took place. Hence I think that, until a more tenable hypothesis has been invented, we may assign the issue of the *Ohsnaforda* coins to A.D. 886 and date the first appearance of the name of Oxford in that year.

APPENDIX.

The need of facsimiles for purposes of comparison has been met, to some extent, by the photographic reproduction of nine drawings from selected collotypes and photogravures of portions of manuscripts dating from the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. I hope that these drawings will be found sufficient for the purpose. They are accompanied by exact references to the sources from which they have been extracted. The Anglo-Saxon numismatist will, no doubt, find them useful; and the palæographer will perhaps forgive those shortcomings which, as he will recognise, are inseparable from the methods of copying and reproduction adopted.



The above drawings of the forms of letters common to the *Book of Kells* and the *Ohsnaforda* and other Anglo-Saxon coins are copied

from an engraving in *Alphabets, Old and New*, by Lewis F. Day (1898). The manuscript is preserved in the library of Trinity College.

II.



In illo tempore Angelus Domini apparuit in somnis Ioseph.

From *Planche III.* of Mons. L. V. Delisle's monograph on *L'Evangélaire de Saint-Vaast d'Arras et la Calligraphie Franco-Saxonne du IX^e Siècle*; Paris, 1888.

Dublin. Its style of writing is round half-uncial. Facsimiles of it are given in Eugene O'Curry's *Lectures on the MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History* (1861); and in *Facsimiles of the National MSS. of Ireland* (1874-1884). Two photographic reproductions of ornamentation and initials of great beauty appear in Mr. Falconer Madan's *Collection*, No. 3 (1c); and one, Plate VI, in *Writing and Illuminating, and Lettering*, by Edward Johnston, 1906.

The incorporation of the runes for *u*, *t* and *n* into the lines reproduced above is explained under the letter V.

III.

hē spēalt herodes fram him sylfum ofsticod ond arche

AN·u AN·u AN·u·u

Her spealt herodes fram him sylfum ofsticod *ond* arche An. iii. An. v. An. v. u.

From Plate II in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Benjamin Thorpe, in "R.B.SS.," No. 23, 1861.

These lines occur in the Cotton MS., *Tiberius A. VI.* which was written about A.D. 1000. The large A's in the second line are of the Rustic variety.

h

IV.

cymngas on north pealum hopel 7 cledauc
7 ieoþ peall north peall cfn hine sohton
him to hlaforde.

Cyningas on north pealum hopel *ond* cledauc *ond* ieothpel *ond* eall north peall cyn hine sohton him to hlaforde.

From Plate I in Thorpe's edition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

The original of these lines appears in the Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. *Nro.* 173, which was written before A.D. 950 in so far as the annal in which the passage selected occurs is concerned. The fine H reproduced above heads the annal, which is 923. The Howel referred to is Howel the Good, one of whose coins is in the possession of Mr. Carlyon-Britton : *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ii, p. 31.

V.

† DEOS BOC SCEAL TOPIOGORA
ÆLFƿeð kyning hateð gretan pærferð biſcep

LEASTRE
hiſ pordum luf

† DEOS BOC SCEAL TOPIOGORA LEASTRE

ÆLFƿeð kyning hateð gretan pærferð biſcep hiſ pordum luf (lice)

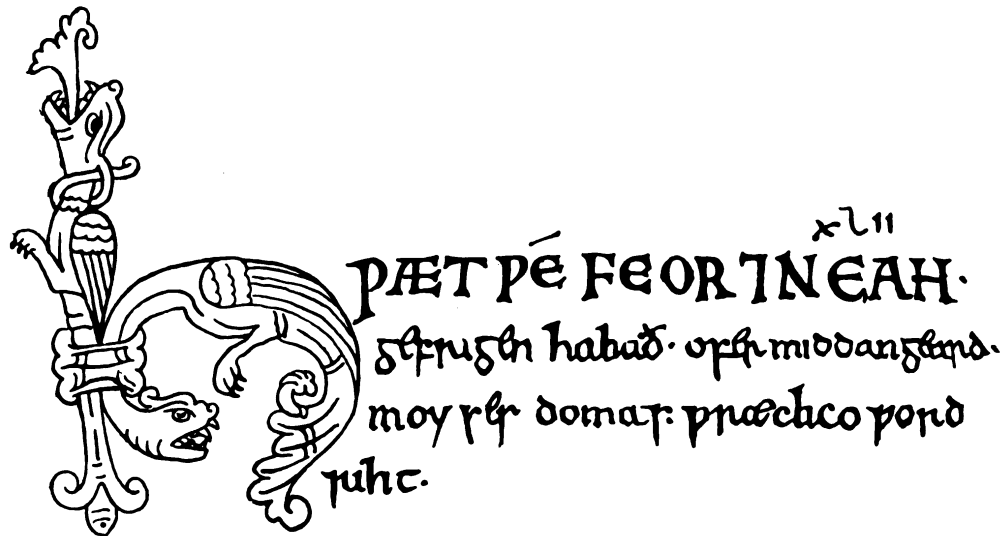
From Plate I, in *Twelve Facsimiles of Old English Manuscripts*, by the Rev. Walter W. Skeat, Litt.D., 1892.

These lines are from King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Pope Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, in the Bodleian MS., *Hatton Nro.* 20, which was written in the South of England in about A.D. 890.

VOL. III.

H

VI.



Hræt pé feor *ond* neah · gefrigen habað. ofer middangeard. moyses dōmas. præclico pord riht.

From Plate II. of Prof. Skeat's *Twelve Facsimiles*.

These lines occur in the Paraphrase of Exodus in the Bodleian MS. *Junius 11*, which was written in the latter part of the tenth century. They were selected on account of the large initial H.

VII.



Annus dcclxxxix. Her wæs alfpald norð hým-

From Plate IV, in Thorpe's edition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

This line occurs in the Cotton MS., *Tiberius B. IV*, which was written in about A.D. 1100. The cross-bar of the letter N in "Annus" is even more horizontal in Thorpe's facsimile than it appears to be when judged by the reproduction.

Patet plicatas p[ro]p[ri]as p[ro]p[ri]as
opimo. quae debet
Gregorio quadraone

From the Plate at p. 90 of *The British Museum Guide to the Manuscripts*, etc.

IX.

In nobis complectere
 sunt rerum sicut
 sunt in chebus hero
 dis regis iudee soc

From *Monumenta Palaeographica: Denkmäler der Schreibkunst des Mittelalters*
ed. Dr. Anton Chroust, VIII. Lieferung, Tafel 2.

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Original from
~~PENN STATE~~ --- ---

This facsimile is taken from the Gospel Book of Cutbercht, who wrote it, it is believed, in England, before the year 750. The MS. is now in the Court Library at Vienna, *Codex Latinus, Nro. 1224, fo. 111*. The three forms of the letter *n* are noteworthy; as also are the two forms of the letter *r*.

X.

a. *AD CORINTHIOS* (*Ad Corinthios*)

b. *hwc* (*Hunc*)

The two lines reproduced above have been dealt with under the letter H at the close of section 2. The first line is drawn from the facsimile of a line or two of the Pelagius MS. written in the ninth century. The second is from the sixth-century MS. of the poems of Prudentius.

XI.

A table of the forms assumed in different periods by the letters H, M, N, and R.

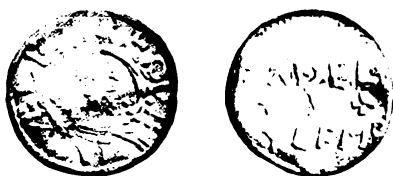
				Century :				
Monumental Letters...	...	...	...	IV.	H	M	N	R
Rustic	...	...	...	VII.	H	H	N	R
Uncial	...	...	...	VI.	h	o	N	R
Half-uncial	...	...	...	VIII.	h	m	n	R ⁿ
Anglo-Saxon Minuscules	...	...	...	X.	h	m	n	p
Anglo-Saxon abbreviation, = <i>autem</i> ...				IX.	h			
Frankish Rustic Letters	...	...	...	IX.	π	M	N	R

[We are indebted to the author's son and daughter, Mr. A. and Miss E. Anscombe, for the carefully executed drawings which illustrate this Appendix.—EDITORS.]

A REMARKABLE PENNY OF KING ALFRED.

BY L. A. LAWRENCE, *Director.*

THE coin, of which the following is the description, came into my hands during a search for examples of the forger's nefarious art.



A REMARKABLE PENNY OF KING ALFRED.

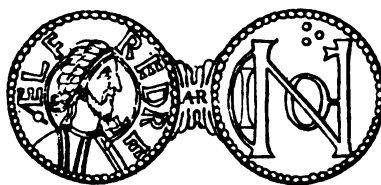
Obverse.—ÆLFRED REX. Large bust of the king bearded and filleted to the right. Inner circle broken by the bust cutting through it above and below. Legend beginning on the left; the last letter of REX being represented just within the inner circle below the letter E. The whole within a dotted outer circle, parts only of which are evident on the coin.

Reverse.—ÆDELFLY MO in two lines across the field; in the centre, three crosses, that to the left, in saltire; a similar cross before the moneyer's name; above, a pellet. Parts of an outer beaded circle visible. Weight, 22 grains.

The work is very rough on both sides. The coin is, unfortunately, much blurred on the obverse by having been struck more than once. The impressions of the two, or possibly three strikes are at such a distance from each other as almost to conceal another feature which I discovered on careful examination of the coin. This is, that besides being double struck, it is overstruck on another coin. The underlying impression happily remains in great part on the reverse, where absence of the double striking allows it to be seen. The earlier coin was of the London monogram type. Parts of the letters L, D and I are visible and nearly the whole of the N and O. The cross-bar of the N is clearly traceable through the central cross on the coin.

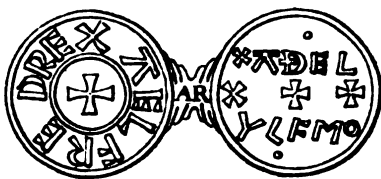
What the obverse type was I am unable to ascertain with sufficient confidence to be satisfied.

The general type of the obverse, namely, bust cutting through the inner circle above and below, is quite unknown. The reverse, however, is that of a common type and only varies in having two of the crosses in saltire instead of erect. The combination of the two sides is quite new. In searching the various text-books for some information concerning the coin, I could find nothing until our President informed me that there was an illustration resembling the obverse in Sir A. Fontaine's *Numismata, Anglo-Saxonica et Anglo-Danica*, published at Oxford in 1704.



REPRODUCTION OF A WOODCUT, MADE IN 1704, OF A PENNY OF ALFRED WITH SIMILAR OBTVERSE.¹

This book I found in the Museum, and there, sure enough, was the obverse of my coin line for line, omitting, of course, the double and overstriking. The reverse of the coin figured, however, was of the London monogram type, but the preceding coin on the same plate was also a coin of Alfred, and the reverse was the counterpart of my coin, although the obverse attached to this reverse was the small cross within a circle surrounded by the king's name and title. The two crosses, as on my piece, were in saltire. I can find no further light elsewhere, for both *Ruding* and *The Numismatic Chronicle* are silent with reference to this piece.



REPRODUCTION OF A WOODCUT, MADE IN 1704, OF A PENNY OF ALFRED WITH IDENTICAL REVERSE.

¹ The reverse of the coin is inverted, as the monogram had not been deciphered in 1704.

The authenticity of this single example requires patient search for some definite proof. At present I should not like to say that it is beyond doubt, and yet I should be very sorry, and indeed quite unable, to call it a forgery. In cases of this kind all that can be argued is best said by summing up the good points against the bad points, and making an arithmetical subtraction of the less from the greater. To my mind, the good points are in such preponderance that I cannot do better than state them in detail.

1. The edge: I consider it typically good.
2. The lettering: every letter taken separately, although often apparently of very poor workmanship, I have been able to note on undoubted coins of the period. Although it was the rule to form the square letters with wedge-shaped serifs, the thinner end being that in approximation to the vertical stroke, letters are known such as are shown on this coin, where the horizontal strokes are of nearly equal thickness and are quite joined to the vertical strokes.
3. The weight is correct.
4. The general design also is correct as a combination.
5. The double striking: the striking was evidently done by hand, as the double striking is only on one side. This was the invariable process of the period, and the evidence is therefore all in favour of originality, for in modern times a press is always used, whereby a truer and better impression can be obtained with less exercise of skill.
6. The use of a coin as a flan: this argument may be used either way; coins in ancient times were constantly reissued by overstriking later impressions upon them. They have also been used by the forger to meet the difficulties of metal, weight and edge. If the design of the original coin can be deciphered there is so much less left to doubt. Thus, if the date of the underlying coin can be shown to be later than the date of the overstrike, there can be no doubt of the falsity of the latter. When, however, the overstrike is of later date, the rarity of the earlier coin must be taken into consideration. Many forgeries of Henry I. and Stephen's time have been shown to be false because they were overstruck on the later short-cross pennies. Another series of false coins, of William I. and William II. were struck on **PAXS** coins of the former; examples of common coins being thus used to strike forgeries of later and rarer types are plentiful.

On the coin under discussion, the overstriking on a London monogram type is most significant. No forger, to my mind, would use a type of such rarity on which to strike so poor a production as this piece. The London monogram coin used might, it is true, be a forgery itself, but, if so, why should he use it, for it could not add to the pretence? I think the evidence of the edge of this piece is in favour of the originality of the monogram type and thus in favour of the authenticity of the later strike. 7. The moneyer, A Ð E L Y L F: coins bearing this name are not uncommon. The usual type is—*Obverse*: cross within circle, outside of which are the king's name and title. *Reverse*: the moneyer's name and title in two lines across the coin, divided by three crosses. The only other type of Alfred's money bearing this name is that variety of the London monogram, illustrated, Hawkins 620, and read by our President LONDONIENSIS¹. Three specimens of it were found at Cuerdale; they are all of very peculiar and unusual work. Mr. Haigh, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series, vol. x, refers to Alfred's Mercian type as bearing this name. I cannot trace the coin, and it is outside the question here being discussed, as that type has nothing in common with the monogram types. 8. There was a coin in the Montagu collection, figured in the sale catalogue, which is another mule of the monogram type. *Obverse*: small cross without any inner circle; surrounding it, the king's name and title. *Reverse*: London monogram dividing the moneyer's name TILEVINE. 9. A coin of Alfred's time with *Obverse*, bust surrounded by the name HEREBERT, bears some resemblance to this coin as far as regards the bust, for both specimens present the long beard.

The only point I can bring forward against the coin is the poor and strained workmanship.

Now to sum up.

1. Is the coin genuine? If so, it was struck by AÐELYLF in Alfred's time over one of Alfred's monogram types. This supposition would account for everything.
2. Is it false? Supposing this—the forger had Fontaine's plates, a rare work, before him. He chose two coins to

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. i, p. 3.

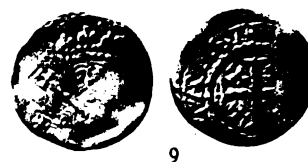
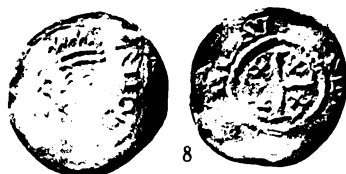
make a unique combination. He also chose a monogram type for his flan so that he would get the right edge and the right weight, and he struck it by hand to obtain the double striking on one side only. The ability which enabled him to manipulate it so far, should have put better work into the die itself. Again, if this coin be false, can we pass as genuine the same workmanship and design on the coins illustrated in Fontaine's plates? Yet the art of the forger in 1704 would scarcely have met the difficulties I have referred to, in concocting an Anglo-Saxon variety in anticipation of the discovery of bearded portraits of Alfred at Cuerdale in 1840.

The conclusion which forces itself on my mind is that the coin is genuine.

A few words on overstrikes may not be amiss. It seems to be a most difficult thing to get rid of the earlier impression by overstriking. Some time since, I was lent two modern bronze pence which had been purposely overstruck at my request. Each impression was clearly traceable, although heavy machinery had been used in their production.

Overstrikes must not be confused with double-struck coins, which are merely coins struck with the same pair of dies more than once. In this case the coin must have shifted before receiving the second blow. These pieces are not of great interest, and the double-striking varies from a slight movement producing a little blurring to a complete somersault in which both sides of the coin show parts of obverse and reverse. Overstrikes are coins struck with a second pair of dies. These are the interesting pieces for study, and a careful examination of them will, as a rule, well repay the student. Most important results as to the sequence of types are to be obtained and the question of originality may depend almost entirely on knowledge gained of the coin used as a flan. It is, therefore, useful to be able to judge whether the marks on a coin indicate overstriking or are due to some other agency. It must be remembered that when a coin is overstruck, most of the former impression disappears ;

what is left is represented by faint lines outlining the remains of the original design. This may be more readily understood by remembering that in overstriking, the prominent parts of the design are hit back into the ground work. The result of this is that on each side of each raised line there is a very narrow depression or channel. These are what catch the eye in examining a coin, and they ought to indicate the original design or some sufficient part of it. It must be called to mind that the design is usually spread by the pressure, and that the space between the narrow depressed lines is in reality the design. The moneyers of old seemed to understand the difficulty of getting rid of the earlier impression in overstriking, and intentionally struck more forcibly. The result now is that many of our finest and best struck up pieces exhibit marked signs of overstriking.



COINS OF ÆTHELRED II., HAROLD I., WILLIAM I., WILLIAM II., HENRY I.,
AND HENRY II., OF THE LAUNCESTON MINT.
X.—XII. CENTURIES

CORNISH NUMISMATICS.

BY P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., *President.*

IN treating this subject it is not purposed to attempt to form a catalogue of Ancient-British, Roman, or other coins which may happen to have been discovered within the county of Cornwall, but the object is to endeavour to ascertain what coins were, in fact, minted within its boundaries.

Those Ancient-British coins which are attributed to the south-western part of the kingdom, including what is now the county of Cornwall, cannot be regarded as exclusively Cornish, nor do they bear any inscription or mark to render possible their identification with any place or potentate connected therewith. The same remarks hold good with reference to Roman and Romano-British coins.

That there was a coinage issued in Cornwall in early times is, fortunately, a matter of record, as we shall see from the extracts from the Pipe Rolls when considering the coins of Henry II. struck at Launceston.

The earliest coin which can, with any degree of certainty, be attributed to a Cornish place of mintage is the unique silver penny of Æthelræd II., which formed lot 770 of the Montagu collection. This was sold by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, on November 23rd, 1895, for £4 7s. 6d., the purchasers being MM. Rollin and Feuarent, and the catalogue disclosed the information that the coin came from the Warne collection.

It is of the type figured in Hildebrand's plates as B.I., and in Ruding's as 22, No. 9. The obverse bears a diademed bust of the king to the right within an inner circle. Around is the usual inscription +ÆDELRED REX ANGLOX, the last word being an abbreviated form of Anglorum. The reverse has the representation of an open

hand extended downwards from a segment of a double circle, probably intended to represent the Hand of Providence issuing from clouds ; on either side are the letters *Alpha* and *Omega* ; all within an inner circle. Around is the legend + BRVN M-O LANSTF. An outer beaded circle at the extreme edge of the surface of the coin, completes, as is usual, the design of both obverse and reverse. Plate, No. 1.

Brun is, of course, the name of the moneyer ; the abbreviation M-O signifies his office, and the letters *Lanstf.* the name of the place of mintage. A moneyer of the same name coined at Exeter in the same type, and *Bruna* appears on several types at Lydford.

The abbreviation *Lanstf.* would seem to point to the Saxon name of Launceston having been *Lanstefanton*, meaning, what it in fact was, the town of the Church of St. Stephen. Somewhat similar early names are quoted as appertaining to Launceston by the earlier Cornish historians, who, however, prefer the termination *don* or *dun*, meaning hill, to *ton* or *tun*, meaning town.

Mr. C. T. Martin, F.S.A., in *The Record Interpreter* (1892), gives *Lanstaventum* and *Lanstuphadonia* as early Latinized forms denoting Launceston. On the other hand, Messrs. R. and O. B. Peter in *The Histories of Launceston and Dunheved* (1885), remark, p. 67, "We have never found in an original document the fanciful names 'Lanstuphadon,' or 'Lancesterton,' which some preceding historians have furnished for this place."

Domesday Book is the earliest original record concerning the town which the present writer has been able to consult. On folio 120*b* the following entry occurs :—

The Canons of St. Stephen held *Lanscavetone*. There are four hides of land which were never subject to the payment of geld. There is land for twenty ploughs. There are three ploughs and three leagues of pasture, and sixty acres of wood. It was formerly worth eight pounds. Now it is worth four pounds.

From this manor the Count of Mortain took away a market which lay there in the time of King Edward (the Confessor) and was worth twenty shillings.

On folio 120 the Canons of St. Stephen of *Lancauetone* are recorded as holding land in the Manor of Paindran, of the Count of

Mortain. In each case *Sancti Stephani* is rendered *ſ Stefani* : a point to which attention is drawn to illustrate and confirm the spelling of the mint name on the coins attributed by the writer to Launceston.

The third and last entry in Domesday Book relevant to the subject occurs on folio 121*b*, and the following is a translation of it :

The Count (of Mortain) himself holds *Dunhevet*. In the time of King Edward (the Confessor) it was assessed to the geld for one virgate of land. Yet there is one hide. Land there is for ten ploughs.

In demesne is one plough, and there are three serfs, one villein, and thirteen bordars with four ploughs. There are two mills which render forty shillings, and there are forty acres of pasture. Formerly it was worth twenty pounds. Now it is worth four pounds.

There is situate the castle of the Count.

Around his castle of Dunhevet, the Count of Mortain built the walled town or burgh of Dunhevet, and thither he transferred the market which in King Edward's time appertained to the original town of the Canons of St. Stephen's, viz., *Lanstefanton*.

Dunheved was, in effect, an *imperium in imperio*, or rather a *burgus in burgo*. That this was the position is shown by a charter of Reginald de Dunstanville, Earl of Cornwall, 1140 to 1176, a natural son of Henry I., quoted by Messrs. R. and O. B. Peter, pp. 4-5, of which the following extract is sufficient for the purpose :—

Moreover, I wish to bring to the notice of all men that R, the Prior of Lanstone, in full court before me at the Castle of Dunhevede, the Provost and Burgesses of that town being present, sufficiently and lawfully explained that at the time when the Count of Mortain transferred the Sunday market from the town of St. Stephen at Lanstone, to the *new town of the Castle of Dunhevet*, the Canons of Lanstone, with the assent and will of the aforesaid Count of Mortain, retained for themselves and their borough of Landstone, and the Burgesses remaining in it, *all liberties pertaining to a free borough*, with the same integrity which they had of old, except only the Sunday market. And the same Canons have of the Provost of the Castle twenty shillings annually at the Feast of St. Martin. And that they had and held the same liberties fully and quietly and without contradiction during the whole time of Henry, the King of England, my father. Wherefore I have granted, and by this my charter confirmed, to the aforesaid Canons and their town of Lanstone, and to the men having

hearth and habitation therein, *all the liberties pertaining to a free borough*, with the aforesaid twenty shillings annually.

The liberties pertaining to a free borough included the right to one moneyer, for at a Synod, held at Greatley, in Huntingdonshire, in or about A.D. 928, it was enacted that there should be one kind of money throughout the whole realm, and that no one should coin save in a town. Certain specified places were to have two or more moneyers, but the other burghs only one moneyer for each. See Liebermann's *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 1898, Part I, p. 159.

The coin of Æthelræd II., above described, shows that Lanstefanton, or Launceston, enjoyed this privilege of coining as early as the reign of that king, and it is, of course, possible that coins minted there in earlier reigns may yet come to light. To the date of the above cited charter of Reginald, Earl of Cornwall, nothing seems to have occurred to take away from the town of the Canons of St. Stephen's their right to a moneyer.

It is now purposed to enquire what coins subsequent to that of Æthelræd II. may be attributed to this place.

The next coin in chronological order which has come under the writer's notice is a silver penny of Harold I., Hildebrand Type B, variety A. *Obverse*: the king's bust to left with sceptre; legend + HAROLD R: EEDX: *Reverse*: long cross voided, in centre an annulet enclosing a pellet; in each angle a trefoil composed of three pellets; legend + GAWINE ON LANHE. Plate, No. 2.

This coin is, perhaps, the only one of the series of which the appropriation can be questioned, but as the third letter of the mint name is clearly ligulated, it resolves itself into NZT, and makes the complete mint name LANZTE and the whole *Gawine on Lanste*.

The moneyer's name, *Gawine*, is interesting in that it still survives to us as a West-country or Cornish name in the Arthurian legends, and in early pedigrees such as that of the Carew family.

There is at present a gap that may or may not hereafter be bridged over, namely, from the reign of Harold I. to that of William I.

There are preserved to us several specimens from the Launceston mint of Type V of the Conqueror's coins, having on the obverse

a full-faced representation of the king's bust, crowned, a star on either side of the neck. This type is represented by Hawkins as No. 238, and the date of its issue has been assigned by the present writer to the period between Michaelmas, 1077, and Michaelmas, 1080. The reverses of the Launceston specimens bear the unusual legend **✠ SASOTI STEFANII**, which has generally been read as **✠ SASOTI STEFANII**. Plate, No. 3.

In the British Museum there are two specimens of this coin, one being placed in the cabinets there under "uncertain" mints, and the other being attributed to Stepney. The writer has an example; a fourth, from the Allen collection, is the property of Mr. W. Talbot Ready; and others are known.

The unusual characteristic of the legend is that it appears to be in Latin and in the genitive case, whereas all other coins of this type—nay, more, of all the types of William I. and William II.—bear the name of the moneyer, followed by the word ON, equalling *of* or *in*, and, lastly, the name, more or less abbreviated, of the mint town. It is offered as a solution of the puzzle that the legend is intended for *sancti Stefani*, the word *moneta* being understood, the Latin equivalent to "money of St. Stephen's."

This interpretation may seem fanciful, but when it is considered that the form of the legend is only adopted in this particular instance, and that the dies were probably engraved in London on the written instructions of the then dean of St. Stephen's, the Latinity and the partial blundering of the word *sancti* are to a great extent explained.

As regards the British Museum attribution of these and other coins hereafter mentioned to Stepney, it is sufficient to say that a colourable likeness to the modern name can only be obtained by reading a very distinct series of *Fs* as *Ps*; but were the *Fs* in fact *Ps*, the case would not be bettered, as Stepney is called *Stibenhede* in Domesday Book and even as late as in a charter of Richard I. it appears as *Stebeheie*.

The name Stepney has no connection with Stephen or Stefan, however spelt, and there is nothing in the history of the place to warrant the supposition of it ever having possessed a mint. Stepney,

moreover, is almost adjacent to the Tower of London, which in Norman times, and until a comparatively recent date, was the chief mint of the Kingdom.

The next coins of the Launceston series are those of Type VIII of William I., the last type of the reign, and commonly known as the PAXS type, Hawkins 241. Plate, No. 4.

Upon these the reverse legends are in the usual form.

The following varieties are known of the legends on the reverse, namely, **✠ GODRIC ON STEFNI** and **✠ GODRIC ON STFANI**.

Of the first variety of reading, four specimens are recorded as having been included in the Beaworth hoard, discovered in 1833, and in the same hoard were two specimens bearing the second reading.

The British Museum specimens of each variety are placed under Stepney. The writer has a specimen of the variety reading **STEFNI**.

The first type of William II., Hawkins 244, is represented by a coin reading **✠ IEGLIER ON STEFN**, but the writer has no knowledge of the present ownership of the piece and relies on a reading furnished to him by Mr. W. J. Webster.

Of the second type of William II. (Hawkins 246) the late Mr. J. G. Murdoch possessed a specimen also reading **✠ IEGLIER ON STEFN**. This was found at Shillington, in Bedfordshire, and formed lot 337 at the sale of the late Mr. William Allen's collection, on March 16th, 1898, and is illustrated in the autotype Plate II of the catalogue. At Mr. Murdoch's sale this important coin formed lot 203, and is now in the cabinet of Mr. Reginald Huth. Plate, No. 5.

Hitherto in Norman times it seems to have been the intention of those responsible for the preparation of the coins, to give prominence, in the necessarily abbreviated mint letters, to the principal name *Stephen*, but by the early part of the reign of Henry II. the more general course of giving enough of the commencement of the place-name to ensure its identification was followed and, as a consequence, we find the form **LANST**, which, minus a letter, was the reading on the coin of Æthelræd II. In a charter of Henry, Bishop of Exeter, dated September 3rd, 1196, the name is spelt *Lanstaveton*.

This circumstance leads to the conjecture that two coins of

Henry I., of Andrew Type XIV, Hawkins 262, in the collection of the writer, may be of Launceston. They read on the reverse **✠ EDMVND ON LAPA**. The P in **LAPA**, of course, equals the Roman W, and LAWA may well stand for *Lawanston*, a rendering of the present name phonetically exact. Plate, Nos. 6 and 7.

The Pipe Roll of Henry I. for the year 1129-1130 contains an entry referring to Edmund and two others, men of William Fitz-Richard. This entry is under the *nova placita* of Cornwallia (Cornwall) and may possibly refer to the Edmund of the coins, as the date of the roll is comprised in the period of issue of this type of Henry I.'s coins, namely, Michaelmas, 1128-1131. Edmund's lord, William Fitz-Richard, was a great Cornish magnate, whose daughter and heiress carried his fief to Reginald, afterwards Earl of Cornwall. See Round's *Feudal England*, p. 487.

The author of the *Acts of King Stephen*, under the year 1140, tells us that William Fitz-Richard, a man of noble descent, and who held the county of Cornwall in full lordship under the king, traitorously broke his oath of fealty, and admitting Reginald, son of King Henry, into a castle (presumably Dunhevet) which had always belonged to the royal jurisdiction, gave him his daughter, with the whole county of Cornwall. This passage shows how Reginald became Earl of Cornwall and also how, in the years 1128-1131, Edmund, a man of William Fitz-Richard, may well have been a moneyer at Launceston.

Mr. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A., anticipates a note from his *Numismatic History of the reign of Stephen*, which will, when completed, be published in *The British Numismatic Journal*, by furnishing the following reverse readings of coins of that king. Of Hawkins, Type 270, he gives +PILLEM ON [L]ANSA and +PILLEM : ON : [L]ANPA, and of the very rare type, Hawkins 276, of this reign +W [ON] STFANI, the moneyer being probably Willem, as on the two previous coins.

The last of these examples is clearly a Launceston coin and the latest in date, so far as our present knowledge extends on which the form STFANI occurs.

The series of Launceston coins is brought to a close with those of Type I of Henry II., Hawkins 285, which was current from 1158 till 1180.

Mr. Nathan Heywood in his paper on "The First Coinage of Henry II.," printed in *The British Numismatic Journal*, vol. i, pp. 97-111, gives the following readings of Launceston coins, **✠ ALF - - - - N : LAN - -** and **✠ W - - : ON : LANST.** Plate, Nos. 8 and 9.

In his "Historical Notes on the First Coinage of Henry II.," *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ii, pp. 185-242, the present writer gives (pp. 193-194) the following account of the Launceston mint :—

"LAUNCESTON (*Lanzauentona*).

"The Roll of 4 Henry II. under Devonshire, contains the following entry :—'The same sheriff (William de Boterell) renders an account of 20 marks of silver for Roger Peck (Pechus), the moneyer of *Cornwall*.' Cornwall was, in effect, a County Palatine, and the references to it in the Rolls are by way of exception rather than rule.

"The Roll of 22 Henry II. contains the following entry under Cornubia : 'Eustace Fitz Stephen renders an account of £153 12s. 6d. for the rent of the county of Cornwall for the mines of tin, and for the rent of the Borough of Launceston (*Lanzauenton*'), according to the roll of the Bishop of Winchester by the testimony of Bernard, the Chaplain of that part which is in the king's hand. He had paid into the treasury £152 14s. 8d. And in the appointed alms to the knights of the temple 1 mark. And in land at Helston which the king confirmed to Baldwin the Chamberlain, after the death of the Earl himself 20s. And he has a surplusage of 15s. 6d. The deceased Earl was Reginald de Dunstanville, a natural son of Henry I., and he had died at Chertsey in 1175.

"The name of Roger, the moneyer of Cornwall, does not correspond with either of the names appearing on the coins of this issue attributed to Launceston, but it is possible that further evidence may exist amongst the Records of the Duchy of Cornwall.

"A Roger (Rogier) struck coins of this issue at Exeter."

With the coins of the first issue of Henry II. an account of "Cornish Numismatics" also, if confined, as is proposed, to coins as distinguished from tokens, comes to a swift conclusion, for there is no other place in Cornwall which, so far as is known, had the privilege of a mint.

It is perhaps desirable, however, to refer to a paper by Sir John Evans, "On a Hoard of Saxon Pennies found in the City of London in 1872," published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1885, wherein on pp. 256-258 he essays to attribute certain coins of Edward the Confessor to Newport, a borough in the county of Cornwall, adjoining that of Launceston.

By what Sir John Evans terms "a process of exhaustion," he states that we are driven to fix the mint of Newport in this Cornish borough. Before arriving at this conclusion he summarily disposes of the claims of seven other places bearing the name of Newport to the honour of possessing a mint. He is doubtless right as to six out of the seven, but, it is thought, wrong as to the remaining one, and also wrong as to the Cornish attribution.

A reference to Messrs. R. and O. B. Peter's book, already twice cited, p. 53, shows that the earliest notice of the Cornish Newport occurs in a document dated in 1274 when Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, conferred certain privileges upon "the men of *La Niweport*" and of the Priory and Convent of *Lanceuton*. These men dwelt on the two banks of the little river Kensey, and were naturally associated in temporal rights. Messrs. Peter add that "Newport was the New Gate, the new suburb, of the *then modern* Conventual buildings."

Sir John Evans in his paper remarks with commendable and characteristic caution: "The weak point in the attribution of these Newport coins to a Cornish mint consists, I think, in the fact that we cannot with certainty determine the date when Lanstephadon assumed the name of Newport. It is a matter which I commend to the attention of Cornish antiquaries. In the meantime I would assign these coins provisionally to Newport in Cornwall."

Members of Parliament were first summoned for the borough of

Newport, Cornwall, in 1529, but the name "Nuport Burgh, *juxta* Launceston" does not occur until 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, 1554. Two Members for "Dunheved, alias Launceston" were elected for all Parliaments from 1295 to the date of the Reform Act, 1832, when the membership was reduced to one.

Even if by any stretch of our historical imagination Newport could be carried back to the time of Edward the Confessor, which, in face of the facts, would seem to be impossible, the attribution of coins to Newport, in Cornwall, would be rendered still more difficult by reason of the existence of a coin of Eadgar reading—obverse : + EADGAR[RX ANGLORVM, small cross pattée : reverse + ÆLFSIGE MONO NIPANPO, small cross pattée, which formed lot 721 at the sale of Mr. Hyman Montagu's coins in November, 1895, and is figured in Plate VI of the catalogue. This realised £8 2s. 6d., the purchasers being MM. Rollin and Feuardent.

In a footnote to the above-mentioned paper by Sir John Evans, p. 256, the following remark occurs, "Unless possibly the coins of Eadwig struck by CLAC ON NEPE belong to this mint (Newport)."

In vol. ii of the British Museum catalogue of Anglo-Saxon coins the coin of Eadwig reading NEPE is attributed, with a query, to Newark, in Northamptonshire. This, like that of Eadgar, is probably a coin of a place called Newport, but certainly not Newport in Cornwall.

A NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF THE REIGNS OF
WILLIAM I. AND II. (1066-1100).

SECOND PART:—THE HISTORIES OF THE MINTS.

By P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A.—*President*.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MONEYS.

IT has been deemed desirable to precede the actual notices of the several mints by a comprehensive and classified index of the moneys, whose names appear on the coins which hitherto have been noted for the purposes of this work.

The names of the moneys under William I. and II. are set out in one list in the left hand or first column, the full or correct form of each name having been selected for this purpose where possible, then follow in proper sequence the names of the town or towns at which moneys bearing the name worked, and following the name of each town are references to the kings from Æthelræd II. to Stephen inclusive, under whom moneys of the same name coined at the same town.

In the case of the coins of William I. the types issued are indicated by Roman numerals, and in that of William II. they are indicated by Arabic figures.

The following are the abbreviations employed :—

Æ = Æthelræd II.	E = Edward the Confessor.
C = Cnut.	Hd 2 = Harold II.
Hd 1 = Harold I.	Hen 1 = Henry I.
Hct = Harthacnut.	S = Stephen.

I = Type	I of William I.,	Hawkins	233
II = „	II	„	234
III = „	III	„	236
IV = „	IV	„	237
V = „	V	„	238
VI = „	VI	„	243
VII = „	VII	„	239
VIII = „	VIII	„	241 and 242
1 = „	1 of William II.,	Hawkins	244
2 = „	2	„	246
3 = „	3	„	247
4 = „	4	„	250
5 = „	5	„	248

The “mule” coins are specifically described, and the rare variety of type 4 of William II. is indicated by the reference (Hawkins, 249) placed after the 4 denoting the type.

Although it is not very probable that a moneyer would continue to issue coins for so long a period, in considering this point it must be remembered that from the close of the reign of Æthelræd II. to the commencement of that of William I., there elapsed approximately only half a century, so that if a moneyer worked at the town of his birth for as long a time as George III. or Queen Victoria reigned over these realms, it would have been possible for him to have issued coins in all reigns from Æthelræd II. to William I. inclusive.

It is highly probable, however, that the same names were perpetuated in the same families and, as the moneyer's craft was in all likelihood a somewhat closely guarded art, the frequent recurrence of the same names in given localities is easy of explanation.

In regard to the names of the moneyers it will be observed that they are, with very few exceptions, of Saxon or Danish origin. In order to assist students in the correct decipherment of the names as they appear on the coins, the variants of the names of the moneyers as they have been noted to occur at the several times during the reigns of William I. and II. only, have been chronicled.

The histories of the mints have been arranged under counties, an arrangement preferable on historical and geographical grounds, as well as one likely to be of assistance to the county collector.

THE MONEYERS AND THEIR MINTS.

ÆB . . . NE

Sandwich II.

Spelling : **ÆB . . . NE.**

ÆGELBRIHT.

Ipswich. C ; II ; IV ; mule of IV—V.

Varieties of spelling :

IEGELBRHT

IEGLBRIH

IEGELBROST :—probably a misreading.

ÆGELMÆR.

Bath. C ; Hd 1 ; Hct ; E ; VIII.

Spelling : **IEGLMIE**

Launceston. 1 ; 2.

Spelling : **IEGLIER**

ÆGELNOD.

Oxford. 4 ; Hen 1.

Spelling : **IEGLNOD**

ÆGELRIC.

Canterbury. 1.

Spelling :

IEIGERIC

Hereford. E ; I ; III.

Spelling :

IEGELRIC

Ipswich. V.

Spelling :

IEGLRIC

London. E ; II ; III ; 2.

Spelling :

ÆGELRIC

IEGELRIC

IEGLRIC

Norwich. V ; 1 ; 2.

Spelling :

IEGLRIC

Shrewsbury. II.

Spelling :

EGLRIC

Wareham. I ; IV ; VI ; VII ; VIII.

Spelling :

IEGELRIC

IEGLRIC

IELRIC

ÆGELWINE.

Exeter. II.

Spelling :

ÆGPI..

Hereford. Mule of IV—V ;

VIII ; 2 ; 4.

Spelling :

IEGLPINE**IEGLPI**

Huntingdon. VIII.

Spelling :

IEGLPINE

Ilchester. E ; Hd 2 ; 1 ;

IV ; V.

Spelling :

IEGELPINE**IEGLPINE****IEGLPNE****PIEGELPINE**

Ipswich. IV ; VIII.

Spelling :

IEGELPINE**IEGLPINE****ÆGLWORD.**

London. E ; 3 ; 4.

Spelling :

IEGLPORD**ÆGSTAN.**

Hereford. IV.

Spelling :

IESTAN

Winchester. C ; Hd 1 ; Hct ;

E ; VI ; VII ; mule of

ÆLDOLF. *See* **ALDOLF.**

Leicester. C ; E ; Hd 2 ;

III ; IV ; VII ; VIII.

Spelling :

IEGELPINE**IEGLPINE**

Lincoln. Hct ; II.

Spelling :

ÆGELPINE

Oxford. Hd 1 ; Hct ; E ;

III ; 4.

Spelling :

ÆGELPI**IEGLPINE**

London. Æ ; C ; E ; IV.

Spelling :

IEGELPINE

Wallingford. VIII.

Spelling :

IEGLPINE

Winchester. E ; V.

Spelling :

IEGLPINE

VII—VIII ; VIII ; 1 ;

2.

Spelling :

IESTAN**IESTIEN****IEGSTAN**

ÆLFEN.

Pevensey. V ; VIII ; 1 ; 4.

Spelling :

IELFH

IELPHEN

ILLFNE

London. 1.

Spelling :

IELPHEN

Sandwich. VIII.

Spelling :

IELFEN

ÆLFGĒARD.

Worcester. IV ; VI ; VII ; VIII ; 2 ; 3.

Spelling :

IELFGĒARD

IELFGĒIERD

IELFGORD

IELFGĒIET (?)

ÆLFGÆT.

Dorchester. 2 ; 3.

Spelling : **IELFGĒIET**

Sandwich. IV ; VI ; VIII ; 1 ; 2 ; 3.

Spelling :

IELFGĒD

IELFGĒIET

IELFGTE

IELFIET

ALFGAD

ÆLMÆR.

Cambridge. IV.

Spelling : **IELMIER**

Lincoln. Mule I—II ; II ; 3.

Spelling :

IELMER

IELNER

ELN[ER]

Romney. V ; VI.

Spelling : **IELMIER**

ÆLFNOD.

Shaftesbury. V; VI; VII; VIII.

Spelling :

IELNOD¹**ALNOD****ÆLFRÆD.**

Canterbury. Æ; C; Hd 1;

Hct; E; Hd 2; V; VI;

VIII; 1; 4; 5; Hen 1.

Spelling :

IELFRIED**IELFRED****IELREI****IELBRIED****IELDRIED****ALFRIED****ALDRIED****ALFRIID****ÆLFRIC.**

Bridport. VIII.

Spelling :

IELFRIC

Colchester. 2; 3.

Spelling :

IELFRIC

Guildford. E; 4; 5.

Spelling :

IELFRIC

Hertford. V; 4 (?).

Spelling :

IELFRIC

Ipswich. VIII; 4; 5.

Spelling :

IELFRIC**ELFRIC**

Stafford. 2.

Spelling :

IELFNOD¹

London. Æ; C; Hd 1; E;

VIII; 1; 2; 5 (?). Hen

1; S.

Spelling :

IELFRIED**IELFRED****IELFRE****ALFRIED****ALFRED**

Sandwich. 4.

Spelling :

IELDRIED

Lewes. VIII; 1; 2.

Spelling :

IELFRIC

London. E; VIII; 1; Hen

1; S.

Spelling :

IELFRIC

Southwark. E; 3.

Spelling :

IELFRIC

¹ The mint intended to be indicated may be Stafford, as the coin on which it occurs is an over-struck piece.

ÆLFSIGE.

Chester. Æ ; C ; Hd 1 ; Hct ;
E ; Hd 2 ; II ; VIII.

Spelling :

IELFSI

ELFSI

ALFSI

Colchester. VIII.

Spelling :

IELFSI

London. Æ ; C ; E ; I ; II ;
III.

Spelling :

ÆLFSIG

ÆLFSTAN.

Rochester. 4 ; Hen 1.

Spelling :

IELSTAN

ÆLFWWARD.

Canterbury. E ; 4.

Spelling :

IELFPORD

Chester. C ; II.

Spelling :

ÆELFPEARD

Ilchester. VI ; VIII ; 1 ; 3 ; 4.

Spelling :

IELFPORD

IELPPORD

ÆLFWINE.

Chester. Æ ; C ; Hd 1 ; II ; 2.

Spelling :

IELFPINE

ELFPI

ÆLFSI

IELFSI

IELFSIE

IELFSIG

IELEFSIE

IEOLFSIE

IEOLFSI

ELFSI

IEELFSI

Nottingham. II.

Spelling :

ELFSI

IELPORD

EHLFPORD

IENLEPIRD¹

ATNILFPARD¹

ADILFPARD¹

Maldon. VIII ; 4.

Spelling :

IELFPORD

IELFORD

Sandwich. IV.

Spelling :

IELFPORD

Cricklade. C ; E ; VIII.

Spelling :

IELFPINE

¹ Not verified ; probably misreadings.

ÆLFWINE—*continued*—

Dover. E; mule of 1-2.

Spelling :

ELFPINE

Exeter. C; E; III; V;

Hen i.

Spelling :

IELFPINE

Gloucester. 3; Hen 1; S.

Spelling :

IELFPINE

Hereford. Æ; C; IV; VIII;

1; S.

Spelling :

IELFPI**IELPI**

Huntingdon. Hct; E; VII;

VIII; 4.

Spelling :

IELFPINE

Ipswich. E; Hd 2; II; VII;

VIII.

Spelling :

IELFPINE**ALFPINE**

London. Æ; C; Hd 1; Hct;

E; 1; II; IV; VII;

VIII; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5;

Hen. 1; S.

Spelling :

IELFPINE**IELPINE****ÆLPINE****IELPNE****ELFPINE****ELPNI****IELFPIND¹****IELFRIND¹**

Maldon. Æ; C; VIII.

Spelling :

IELFPINE

Norwich. Hd 1; E; 4.

Spelling :

IELFPINE

Oxford. Æ; C; Hd 1; Hct;

E; Hd 2; II; IV.

Spelling :

ÆLFPI**ELFPI**

Rhuddlan. VIII.

Spelling :

ELFPINE

Salisbury. II.

Spelling :

IELPNE

Sandwich. 1.

Spelling :

IELFNE¹

Stamford. C; Hd 1; III.

Spelling :

ELFDPNETaunton. V; VI; VII; mule
of VII—VIII; 2; 4.

Spelling :

IELFPINE¹ Not verified; probably misreadings.

ÆLFWINE—*continued*—

Thetford. Æ; C; Hd 1;
Hct; E; Hd 2; II;
VIII; 1.

Spelling :

IELFPINE

ELFPI

Wallingford. Æ; C; Hd 1;
Hct; E; 1.

Spelling :

IELFPINE

Wilton. C; E; V; VII;
VIII; 1; 2.

Spelling :

IELFPINE

Winchester. C; Hd 1; Hct;
E; Hd 2; 1; II; 4.

Spelling :

IELFPINE

IELFPIN

IELEFPINE

ÆERNWI. *See* EARNWI.

AGEMUND }
AHMUND }

Lincoln. E; Hd 2; mule of I—II; II; Hen 1.

Spelling :

ÆGEMVND

ÆHEMVND

ALDGAR }
ALGAR } *See* EALDGAR.

ALGOD.

Canterbury. 4.

Spelling :

ALGOD

ALDOLF.

Southwark. VIII.

Spelling :

IELDOLF

ALDOLF

ALDOVF

ALDOVLF

ALDWINE.

London. 4.

Spelling : **ALDPINE**

ALEIF.

York. E ; Hd 2 ; II ; IV ; VIII ; 1 ; 2.

Spelling :

ALEIF
ALEF
ALEIOF
ALIE

ALÐUROLF.

York. V.

Spelling :

ALÐVROLF
ALÐVRVLF
ALÐVR

See also HARÐOLF and OVDOLF.

ANDERBODA.

Winchester. E ; Hd 2 ; I ; III ; IV ; V ; VI

Spelling :

ANDERBODA
ANDERBODE
ANDERBOD
ANDERBON
ANDBODA
ANDBOD
ANDERBONPA
ANDBOO
ANRBD

ARCETEL }
 ARNCETEL }

Lincoln. 3 ; 4 ; Hen I.

Spelling :

ÆCIL
ARNCIL

Stamford. Hd 1 ; 5.

Spelling :

ARNTL

York. Æ ; C ; Hd 1 ; E ; II.

Spelling :

ARCETEL

ATSERE.

Nottingham. VIII; 2.

Spelling :

IETLER

ACERE

ATSERE

AVÐOLF. *See* OVDOLF.

BALDRIC.

Thetford. 1.

Spelling : **BALDRIC**

Worcester. E; IV; VIII; 1; 2; 4.

Spelling : **BALDRIC**

BALDWINE.

Shaftesbury. 4.

Spelling : **BALDPINE**

BANWIND. Probably a misreading.

Thetford. 2.

Spelling : **BANPIND**

BERITERI.

London. VII.

Spelling : **BERITERI**, perhaps for **BRIHTRIC**

BERN. *See* BIORN.

BIHGSVN.

Thetford. II.

Spelling : **BIHGSVN**

BIORN.

Wareham. E; V; VIII.

Spelling :

BERN

BRVRN

BLACSVNV.

London. IV.

Spelling :

BLACSVNV

BLMCSVNV

Winchester. V.

Spelling :

BLACSVNV

BRÆSEL.

Norwich. 5.

Spelling : **BRIESEL**

BRAND.

Wallingford. E ; I ; II ; III ; IV ; V.

Spelling : **BRAND**

BRIHTMÆR.

Chichester. III.

Spelling :

BRIHTMIER

Lewes. 2 ; 4.

Spelling :

BRIHMER**BRIHMIER****BRITMIER**

London. Æ ; C ; Hd 1 ; E ;

V ; 4.

Spelling :

BRIHTMIER**BRITMIER**

Wallingford. E ; Hd 2 ; I ;

II ; III ; IV.

Spelling :

BRIHTMÆR**BRIHMÆR****BRITMAR**

BRIHTNOÐ.

Gloucester. E ; Hd 2 ; VIII ; mule of 1-2 ; 2.

Spelling :

BRIHTNOÐ**BRHTNOÐ****BRIHTOÐ****BRIHTOD**

BRIHTRÆD.

Canterbury. C ; Hd 1 ; 1.

Spelling :

BRIHTRED

Oxford. E ; II ; III ; VI ;

VII ; VIII ; 2.

Spelling :

BRIHTRIED**BRIHTRED**

BRIHTRIC.

Colchester. E : I.

Spelling :

BRIH . . . I

Exeter. Hd 2 ; I.

Spelling :

BRIHTRIC

BRIHTRIC—*continued*—

Hereford. II ; IV.

Spelling :

BRIHTRIC

Lincoln. C ; E ; V.

Spelling :

BRIHTRIC

London. V.

Spelling :

BRIHTRIC

BRHTRIC

BRIHTWINE.

Bridport. VIII.

Spelling :

BRIHTPI

Exeter. 4 ; Hen 1.

Spelling :

BRIHTPINE

Lincoln. VIII ; 1.

Spelling :

BRIHTPINE

London. C ; E ; III ; VII ;

VIII ; 1.

Spelling :

BRIHTPINE

BRIHTPIE

BRIHTWOLD.

Canterbury. VIII ; 2.

Spelling :

BRIHTPOLD

BRIHTPOD

Oxford. 2.

Spelling :

BRIHTRIC (probably a
misreading of

BRIHTRIED)

Taunton. E ; Hd 2 ; mule of
I—II ; III ; IV.

Spelling :

BRIHTRIC

BRFHTRIC

Worcester. IV.

Spelling :

BRIHTRIC (probably a
misreading of

BALDRIC)

BRIHTPIE

BRIHTPI

BRIHPINE

"Maint." II.

Spelling :

BRIHTPI

BRHTPI

Malmesbury. E ; II ; IV.

Spelling :

BRIHTPI

Wallingford. E ; III.

Spelling :

BRIHTPINE

BRIHTWORD.

Bristol. VI; VII; VIII; 1; 2; 4.

Spelling :

BRIHTPORD

BRIHTPOD

BRPODE

BIHTPORD

BRUNGAR.

Bath. III.

Spelling : **BRVNGAR**

BRUNING.

Ipswich. E; 4.

Spelling :

BRVMIL

London. C; E; V; VIII;

1; 2; 3; 4; Hen I.

Spelling :

BRVNINE

BRVNIL

BRVNIȠ

BRVNI

BRHNINE

Tamworth. E; II; VIII; 1;

2; 3.

Spelling :

BRVNIL

BRVNNIL

Winchester. VII; VIII.

Spelling :

BRVNIL

BRUNMAN.

Chichester. I; V; VI; VIII; 1; 2; 3.

Spelling :

BRVNMAN

BRVNANN

BRVMMAN

BRVMAN

BRVMN

BRVMPAN

BRUNRÆD.

Oxford. 2.

Spelling : **BRVNRIED** (probably a misreading of
. BRIHTRIED)

BRUNSTAN.

Bristol. VIII.

Spelling : **BRVNSTAN**

Oxford. I.

Spelling : **BRVNSTAN**

Stamford. C ; VIII ; 1.

Spelling : **BRVNSTAN**

BRUNWINE.

Stamford. C ; Hd 1 ; Hct ; E ; Hd 2 ; III.

Spelling : **BRVNPINE**

BRURN. *See* BIORN.

BUENT.

London. 2 ; 4.

Spelling :

BVENT

BNT

BVT

BUNON. ? = Brunon.

Thetford. 2.

Spelling : **BVNON**

BURNARD.

Thetford. 3.

Spelling : **BVR -- RD**

BURNOD.

Canterbury. VIII.

Spelling : **BVRNOD**

CAREL. *See* CEORL.

CENRIC. *See* CINRIC.

CEORL.

Bristol. E ; Hd 2 ; I ; III ; V.

Spelling :

CEORL

CERL

CAREL

K 2

CILD.

Bedwin. E ; I

Spelling :

CILD

Marlborough. III ; IV ; V ;

VI ; VIII ; 1.

Spelling :

CILD**CID**

CILNRÆD. = Ceolred?

Romney. 2.

Spelling : **CILNRIED**, probably a misreading.

CINRIC.

Thetford. I ; II ; IV ; V ; VII

Spelling :

CINRIC**CENRIC**

CINSTAIN.

Dover. C ; Hd 1 ; Hct ; E ; Hd 2 ; VII.

Spelling : **CINSTAIN**

CIPINCC.

Hastings. VIII.

Spelling : **CIPINCC**

CNIHTWINE.

Bury St. Edmund's. V ; VI ; VII ; VIII ; 4.

Spelling :

CNIHTPINE**CNIHTPIN****CINIHTPINE****CIHTPINE****CINTPINE****CITPINE**

COLBEIN. Cf. COLBERN.

Derby. E ; II ; III.

Spelling : **COLBEIN**

COLBERN.

Wallingford. 2.

Spelling :

COLBERN**COLERN**

COLBLAC.

Bristol. VIII; 1; 2.

Spelling : **COLBLAC**

COLINC.

Tamworth. E; II; VIII; 1; 2.

Spelling :

COLEINC

COLINC

COLIC

CVLINE

COLEMAN.

Twynham (Christchurch, Hants). VII.

Spelling : **COLEMAN**

COLSWEGEN.

Hastings. E; Hd 2; I.

Spelling :

COLSPEGEN

London. IV.

Spelling :

COLSPEGEN

CON . .

Ipswich. I.

Spelling : **CON . .**

CUDBERHT.

Durham. VIII.

Spelling : **CVTDBRHT**

DEORMON.

Colchester. E; V; VI; VIII.

Spelling :

DORMAN

DRMAN

DRIMAN

DIRMAN

Hastings. 2; 3; 4 (Hawkins
249); 5.

Spelling :

DIRMAN

DORMAN

DRMAN

DEORMON—*continued*—

Steyning. E ; Hd 2 ; II ; VI.

Spelling :

DERMON

DRMAN

DIRIC = Didric = Deodric.

Stamford. II.

Spelling : **DIRIC**

DUNNINC.

Hastings. E ; Hd 2 ; I ; II ;

V ; VIII ; 2.

Spelling :

DVNNINC

DVNNIC

DVNIC

DNINC

Thetford. 2.

Spelling :

DVNIC

Totnes. 2.

Spelling :

DVNNIC

DVNIC

EADRÆD.

Hythe. VIII ; 1 ; 2 ; 4.

Spelling :

EDRIED

EDRED

EADRIC.

Hereford. Hd 2 ; IV ; Hen 1 ;

S.

Spelling :

EADRI

London. Æ ; C ; Hd 1 ; Hct ;

E ; VIII ; 1 ; 2.

Spelling :

EDRIC

Winchester (?) 1.

Spelling :

EDRIC

EADWEARD.

Canterbury. E ; I.

Spelling :

EADPEARD

Dover. VIII.

Spelling :

EDPORD

EADWEARD—*continued*—

Norwich. VIII.

Spelling :

EADPEARD

London. Æ ; C ; Hd 1 ; II ;

V.

Spelling :

EADPA

EDPA

Salisbury. 2.

Spelling :

EDPORD

Wallingford. C ; Hd 1 ; 3.

Spelling :

EDPORD

EADWINE.

Canterbury. C ; Hd 2 ; IV ;

3 ; 5 ; Hen 1.

Spelling :

EDPINE

Chichester. E ; VIII ; 2.

Spelling :

EDPINE

Hereford. Hd 2 ; III ; Hen 1.

Spelling :

EDPI

London. Æ ; C ; Hd 1 ; Hct ;

E ; Hd 2 ; I ; II ; III ;

IV ; V ; VI ; VII ; VIII ;

1 ; 2 ; 4 ; Hen 1.

Spelling :

EADPINE

EADPI

IEDPINE

IEDPI

EDPINE

EDPINEI

EDPI

IEPI

Norwich. Æ ; E ; I ; II ;

Hen 1.

Spelling :

EADPINE

EDPINE

Winchester. Æ ; C ; Hd 1 ;

1 ; 3 ; 4.

Spelling :

EDPINE

EADWOLD.

Bristol. VIII.

Spelling :

EDPOLD

Gloucester. 2 ; 4.

Spelling :

EDPOLD

Norwich. V ; VIII ; 2.

Spelling :

EDPOLD

Salisbury. 4.

Spelling :

EDPOLD

EALDGAR.

London. Æ; C; E; Hd 2;
I; II; III; IV; 4 (in
lead) Hen 1.

Spelling :

EALDĠAR
EALDĠÆR
EALĠAR

ELDĠAR
ALDĠAR
ALĠAR

Southwark. 2; 3; Hen 1.

Spelling :

ALĠAR

EARNWI.

Shrewsbury. E; II; IV; VI; VIII; 1; 2.

Spelling :

EARNPI
IERNEPI
IERNPI
ERPI (?)

EASTMÆR.

London. 5; Hen 1.

Spelling :

ESTMIER

Worcester. E; Hd 2; II; III; VI; VIII; 1; 2.

Spelling :

EASTMÆR
EASTMER
ESTMIER

ESTMRER
IEESTMIER

ECGERD. Probably a misreading of **FOLLÆRD.**

Thetford. VI.

Spelling : **ECĠERD**

EDLGAERD.

Stamford. 1.

Spelling : **EDLĠAERD**

EDOUF.

Cricklade. 2.

Spelling : **EDOVF**

ERIC. *See* **SERIC.**

ERVN. Probably a misreading of **BRVN = BRVNIE**.

Tamworth. II.

Spelling : **ERVN**

ES-. See OS-.

FOLCÆRD.

Lincoln. 4 ; 5.

VIII ; 1 ; 2 ; 3 ; 4 ;

Spelling :

Hen 1.

FOLCIERD

Spelling :

FOLGIERD

FOLCIERD

Thetford. Æ ; E ; IV ; V ;

FOLLARD

VI ; mule of VII—VIII ;

FOLIERD

FOLERD

FORNA. Probably equivalent to Frona.

Nottingham. Hd 2 ; I ; II ; III ; IV.

Spelling :

FORNA

FORN

FRITHEGIST.

Chester. II.

Spelling : **FRIDEICT**

FROMA }
FRONA }

Cf. FORNA.

Derby. E ; Hd 2 ; I ; V.

Spelling :

FROAM

FRONA

GARFIN }
GARVIN }

Lincoln. Æ ; E ; Hd 2 (?) ; I.

Spelling : **GARVIN**

GARULF.

Worcester. Æ ; C ; E ; Hd 2 ; II ; III ; V.

Spelling : **GARVLF**

GECEVINE.

Lincoln. II.

Spelling : **GECEVINE**, probably a misreading.GIFEL }
GIVEL }

Lincoln. Æ ; E ; I ; II.

Spelling :

GIFEL**GIVEL**

GOD—.

Thetford. I ; II ; III.

Spelling : **GOD**

GODA.

Exeter. Æ ; C ; I.

Spelling : **GODA**

GODELEF.

Stamford. Æ ; C ; VIII.

Spelling :

GODELEF

Thetford. E ; VIII.

Spelling :

GODELEF**GODELF**

GODESBRAND.

Ba or Bu. VIII.

Spelling :

GODESBRAND

C. = Cricklade (?) VIII.

Spelling :

GODESBRAND

Exeter. VII.

Spelling :

GODESBRANDMalmesbury. Mule of VII—
VIII.

Spelling :

GODESBRAND**GODESBRAND**

Nottingham. VI.

Spelling :

GODESBRAND

Shaftesbury or Shrewsbury.

E ; VI ; VII ; VIII.

Spelling :

GODESBRAND**GODESBRAND****GODESBRAND****GODESBRAND**

Shrewsbury. E ; VIII.

Spelling :

GODESBRAND

GODINC.

London. C; III; IV

Spelling :

GODINC

GODIE

Thetford. VIII; 2

Spelling : **GODINC**

GODNOÐ.

Winchester. II; III

Spelling : **GODNOÐ**

GODRACI }
GODRAEI }

Norwich. V.

Spelling :

GODRACI

GODRAEI

GODRÆD }
GUDRÆD }

Norwich. VIII

Spelling : **GODRID**, probably a die-sinker's error for

GODRIE

Rochester. IV; 1; 2; 4.

Spelling :

GVDRIED

GVDRED

Thetford. V; VIII; 1; 2.

Spelling : .

GODRIED

GODRIED

GODRED

GODREWI.

York. 4.

Spelling : **GODREPI**

GODRIC.

Bedford. Æ; C; E; 2.

Spelling :

GODRIC

Cambridge. Æ; I.

Spelling :

GODRICCanterbury. Æ; C; VII;
VIII.

Spelling :

GODRICChester. C; E; II; mule of
1-2; 2.

Spelling :

GODRICHastings. 1; 2; 3; 5; Hen
1.

Spelling :

GODRIC

Hereford. 2.

Spelling :

GODRICHuntingdon. C; E; I; mule
of I-II; II; IV; 2.

Spelling :

GODRIC

Launceston. VIII.

Spelling :

GODRICLeicester. E; VIII; 1; mule
of 1-2; 2.**GODRIC**London. Æ; C; Hd 1; Hct;
E; Hd 2; I; II; III;
V; VI; VIII; Hen 1;
S.

Spelling :

GODRICNorwich. IV; V; VII;
VIII.

Spelling :

GODRIC

Salisbury. E; I; V; VII.

Spelling :

GODRIC

Southampton. C; Hct; II.

Spelling :

GODRIC

Southwark. E; VII; VIII.

Spelling :

GODRIC

Stafford. Æ; VIII; 1; S.

Spelling :

GODRICStamford. Æ; C; Hd 1;
Hct; E; 5.

Spelling :

GODRICThetford. E; Hd 2; I; II;
III; IV; V; VI; VII;
VIII; 1; 2; 4.

Spelling :

GODRIC**GORIC**

Wilton. II; III; IV.

Spelling :

GODRIC

GODRIC BR }
GODRIC BRD }

Norwich. VIII.

Spelling :

GODRIC BR
GODRIC BRD

GODWINE.

Chichester. E ; Hd 2 ; V ;
2 ; 4 ; 5 ; Hen. 1 ; S.

Spelling :

GODPINE

Derby. Æ ; VIII ; 1 ; 2.

Spelling :

GODPINE

Dorchester. Hd 1 ; Hct ; E ;
IV ; mule of IV—V ; V ;
VI.

Spelling :

GODPINE

Huntingdon. E ; Hd 2 ; II ;
V ; VI ; 3 ; S.

Spelling :

GODPINE

Lincoln. Æ ; C ; V ; VI ;
VIII ; 2.

Spelling :

GODPINE

London. Æ ; C ; Hd 1 ; Hct ;
E ; I ; II ; III ; IV ; V ;
VI ; 2 ; 4 ; Hen 1.

Spelling :

GODPINE

GODPII

GODPI

GODINE

GOPINE

GOPI

Norwich. C ; E ; Hd 2 ; VI ;
VIII ; 1 ; 2.

Spelling :

GODPINE

Oxford. C ; Hd 1 ; Hct ; E ;
II ; III ; IV ; V , 2 ; 4.

Spelling :

GODPINE

Salisbury. Æ ; C ; Hd 1 ;
Hct ; E ; VIII ; 1 ; 2.

Spelling :

GODPINE

Sandwich. VIII.

Spelling :

GODPINE

Southampton. II.

Spelling :

GODPINE

Southwark. 2.

Spelling :

GODPINE

Stafford. II ; VIII.

Spelling :

GODPINE

Thetford. Æ ; C ; Hct ; E ;
I ; II ; III ; Hen. 1.

Spelling :

GODPINE

GODINE

GODWINE—*continued*—

Wareham. V ; VI ; VIII ; 4.

Spelling :

GODPINE

Winchester. Æ ; C ; Hd 1 ;

Hct ; E ; IV ; V ; VI ;

VII ; VIII ; 1 ; mule of

1-2 ; 2 ; 3 ; 4 ; Hen 1 ;

S.

Spelling :

GODPINE**GODPIE****GODPNE****GOPIN****GOLD.**

Romney. 5

Spelling : **GOLD****GOLDINC.**

Warwick. 1 ; 2 ; 4.

Spelling :

GOLDINC

Winchester. III.

Spelling :

GOLDINC**GOLDMAN.**

Colchester. E ; Hd 2 ; I ; II.

Spelling : **GOLDMAN****GOLDSTAN.**

Colchester. I ; II.

Spelling : **GOLDSTAN****GOLDWINE.**

Colchester. V.

Spelling :

GOLDPINE

Dover. VIII ; Hen 1.

Spelling :

GOLDPINE**GOLDPIINE****GOLDPIE****GOLPIE**

Ilchester. 4.

Spelling :

GOLDPINE

Wilton. V.

Spelling :

GOLDPINE

Winchcombe. V ; VIII.

Spelling :

GOLDPINE

Winchester. Æ ; E ; Hd 2 ;

V ; VIII.

Spelling :

GOLDPINE

GONDINR.

Romney. II.

Spelling : **GONDINR** (probably a misreading). Authority,
late F. Spicer.

GVDNIC. Possibly = Guðing.

Derby. 2.

Spelling : **GVDNIE** (probably a misreading). Authority,
C. F. Keary.

GUÐRÆD. *See* GODRÆD.

GYWAT.

Huntingdon. 2.

Spelling :

GYPAT

GYPA

HARÐOLF.

York. I ; II ; IV ; V ; VI ; 3.

Spelling :

ARÐVLF

HAROVLF

HARÐOLF

HARÐVLF

HARÐVL

HRDOVLF

HRÐVOLF

HRÐVL

See also ALÐVROLF and OVDOLF.

HEREGOD.

Oxford. E ; I ; II ; III ; IV ; VII.

Spelling :

HIERGOD

HARGOD

HAREG

HEREGOD

HALDIN.

Nottingham. E ; VI ; 3 ; 5 ; Hen 1.

Spelling : **HALDIN**

HAÐEBRAND.

Shrewsbury. 2 ; 4 ; 5.

Spelling :

HΛÐBRANÐ**HÐBRANÐ****HÐEBRANÐ**

HEAÐEWULF.

Worcester. E ; Hd 2 ; IV.

Spelling : **HEAÐEPVLF**

HEÐEWI.

Hereford. V.

Spelling : **HEÐEPI**

HIRM[OR].

Stamford. 3 ; Hen 1.

Spelling : **HIRM . .**

HOWEORD.

Norwich. VIII ; 3 ; 4 ; Hen 1.

Spelling :

HOPEORD**HOPIORD****HOPORD**

HWATEMAN.

Bristol. Hct ; E ; V.

Spelling : **HPATEMAN**

IE. *See* Æ, the diphthong Æ is generally represented by IE on the coins of this period.

IDCFIS. Possibly a blundered form of IELFSI = ÆELFSI.

London. II.

Spelling : **IDCFIS**

INHUHE.

Norwich. VIII.

Spelling :

INHVE**INHVE**

LEIGSING.

York. Hd 2; II; VII; VIII; 4; Hen 1.

Spelling :

LEIGZING
LEIGZINC
LEISINC
LEGSNC

LEOFNOD.

Chester. Æ; C; Hd 1; Hct; E; 3; 4.

Spelling :

LIFNOD
LIENOD

LEOFRED.

Cricklade. E; II; IV; V.

Spelling :

LEOFRED
LIOFRED

LEOFRIC.

Derby. VIII.

Spelling :

LIFRIC

Dorchester. VIII.

Spelling :

LIERIC
LIFRIC

Dover. Æ; VIII; mule of
1-2; 2.

Spelling :

LVFRIC
LVLFRIC

Leicester. E; II.

Spelling :

LIERIC

VOL. III.

London. Æ; C; Hd 1; E;
III.

Spelling :

LEOFRIC

Stamford. C; Hd 1; E;
II; III.

Spelling :

LIOFRIC

Warwick. E; VIII; 1.

Spelling :

LIFRIC

Worcester. E; Hd 2; I (var :
bust to *right*).

Spelling :

LIFRIC
LVFRIC

L

LEOFSEI.

London. C ; Hd 2 ; 2.

Spelling :

LIFSEI**LIFSI**

Stamford. C ; 4 ; Hen 1 ; S.

Spelling :

LIFSI**LEOFSTAN.**

Ipswich. Æ ; C ; E ; II ; mule of II—III ; V ; VI ; VII.

Spelling :

LEOFSTAN**LIOFSTAN****LIFSTAN****LFSTAN**

Rochester. Hd 2 ; II ; IV ; 4.

Spelling :

LIFSTAN**LIFTAN****LIFSVN.**

Hereford. 2 (?).

Spelling :

LIFSVNMaldon. Mule of VII—VIII ;
VIII ; 1.

Spelling :

LIFESVN**LIFSVNE****LEOFWINE.**

Bedford. Æ ; C ; Hd 1 ; 1 ; 2.

Spelling :

LIFPINE**LIFPI**

Berkeley. VIII.

Spelling :

LIFPINE

Bristol. C ; Hd 1 ; Hd 2 ; I ;

III ; IV ; V ; VI ; VIII ;

5.

Spelling :

LEOFFPINE**LIFPINE**Chester. Æ ; C ; Hd 1 ;
Hct ; E ; VIII ; 1 ; mule
of 1—2 ; 2.

Spelling :

LIFPINE

LEOFWINE—*continued*—

Derby. E ; 1 ; 2.

Spelling :

LEOFPINE

LIFPINE

Dover. Æ ; C ; Hct ; E ;
VIII ; 1 ; 2 ; 3 ; 4 (249
and 250).

Spelling :

LIFPINE

Exeter. C ; Hd 1 ; E ; Hd 2 ;
1 ; VIII ; 2 ; 5.

Spelling :

LIFPINE

LIFPINNE

LFPINE

Gloucester. E ; III ; V.

Spelling :

LIOFPINE

LIFPINE

Hereford. 5.

Spelling :

LIFPINE

Ilchester. C ; E ; 2.

Spelling :

LIFPINE

Ipswich. VIII ; Hen 1.

Spelling :

LIFPINE

LFPINE

Lincoln. Æ ; C ; Hd 1 ; E ; 2.

Spelling :

LEFPINE

London. Æ ; C ; Hd 1 ; E ;
2.

Spelling :

LIFPINE

Nottingham. 4.

Spelling :

LIFPINE

Oxford. Hd 1 ; E ; VIII.

Spelling :

LIFPINE

Peterborough. II.

Spelling :

LEOFPINE

Southwark. II ; V ; VI ; 4 ;
5 ; Hen 1.

Spelling :

LEOFPINE

LIOFPINE

LIFPINE

Stamford. Æ ; C ; Hct ;
E ; Hd 2 ; 1 ; mule of I—
II ; III ; V ; VI.

Spelling :

LEOFPINE

LIOFINE

LIFPINE

Wareham. III.

Spelling :

LIFVINE

Winchester. Æ ; C ; Hd 1 ;
E ; II.

Spelling :

LIOFINE

Yarmouth. V.

Spelling :

LEOFPINE

York. Æ ; C ; III ; 2.

Spelling :

LIFPINE

LVFPINE

L 2

LEOFWINE HORN.

Rochester. E ; VIII.

Spelling : **LIFPINE HORN**

LEOFWOLD.

Lincoln. E ; VII.

Spelling :

LIOFPD

Norwich. II.

Spelling :

LIOFOLD

Wilton. Æ ; IV ; VII ; mule
of VII—VIII.

Spelling :

LEOFPOLD

LIFPOLD

Winchester. Æ ; C ; E ;

Hd 2 ; I ; III ; IV ; V ;

VI ; VII ; VIII ; 1.

Spelling :

LEOFPOLD

LEEPOLD

LEFPOLD

LEOPOLD

LEOLPOLD

LIOEFPOLD

LIEFPOLD

LIOFPOLD

LIOFPD

LIFPOLD

LIFPD

LIVFPOLD

IOFPOLD

LFOLD

LEOFWORD.

Salisbury. 2.

Spelling :

LIFPORD

Southwark. VIII ; 1 ; 2 ; 4 ;
Hen I.

Spelling :

LIFPORD

LIFPPORD

Stamford. III.

Spelling :

LIOFPORD

LEISIS.

Canterbury. 3.

Spelling : **LEISIS**

LIF—. See LEOF . .

LIFINC. *See also* LEOFRIC and LEOFWINE.

Chester. C ; III ; VIII ; 1 ; 2. . Warwick. Æ ; C ; E ; Hd 2 ;

Spelling : IV ; VIII.

LIFINE

LIFINNE

LFNE

LIFIE

LIFINE

LIFPIN

Dorchester. VIII.

Spelling :

LIFINE

Exeter. C ; E ; Hd 2 ; I.

Spelling :

LIVINE

London. Æ ; C ; Hd 1 ; Hct ;

E ; III.

Spelling :

LIFIE

Spelling :

LVFINE

LVFIE

LVFFINE

LVFFIN

Winchester. C ; Hd 1 ; E ;

Hd 2 ; I ; II ; III ; IV ;

V ; VI ; VIII.

Spelling :

LIFINE

LIFNE

LIFIE

LFNE

LIN

LIVINE

LVFINE

MANIC.

London. VI.

Spelling : **MANIE**

MANNA.

Canterbury. E ; I ; II ; III ;

IV ; V.

Spelling :

MANNA

MANN

MAN

MMNA

Exeter. Æ ; C ; I (var : no
sceptre).

Spelling :

MANNA

Nottingham. Hd 2 ; III ; IV ;

mule of VII—VIII ; VIII.

Spelling :

MANNA

MANA

MAN

MANWINE.

Dover. E ; I ; IV ; V ; 3 ; Hen 1.

Spelling : **MANPINE**

NECOLL. Perhaps = Nechol-as.

Thetford. 1 ; Hen 1.

Spelling : **NECOLL**

ODBEARN. Cf. OUDBEORN.

Cambridge. IV.

Spelling : **ODBEARN**

ORDGAR.

London. VI ; 3 ; 4 ; 5 ; Hen 1.

Spelling :

ORDGAR

ORDGAER

ORGAR

ORDRIC.

Gloucester. Hd 2 ; I ; II.

Spelling :

ORDRIC

Stafford. 2.

Spelling :

ODRIC, perhaps for

GODRIC

ORDWI.

Hereford. VIII ; 2 ; 4 ; 5.

OSBEARN.

Salisbury. VII ; mule of VII—

VIII ; 1 ; 2 ; 4 ; 5 ;

Hen 1.

Spelling :

ESBERN

ESBRN

OSBERN

OSBRN

Thetford. Æ ; II ; III ; IV ;

V.

ESBEARN

ESBERN

OZBEARN

OSBEARN

OTBEARN (?)

OSLAC.

Lincoln. C ; III.

Spelling : **OSLAC**

OSMÆR.

Bath. E ; V ; VIII.

Spelling : **OSMIER**

OSMUND.

Shaftesbury. 5.

Spelling : **OSMVND.**

Southwark. E ; Hd 2 ; VIII ; 1 ; 2.

Spelling : **OSMVND**

OSWOLD.

Lewes. Æ ; E ; Hd 2 ; III ; IV ; V ; VIII ; Hen 1.

Spelling : **OSPOLD**

OTER.

Dorchester. V ; VI ; VII ; VIII ; 5.

Spelling :

OTER

OETER

OUÐBEORN.

York. C ; E ; Hd 2 ; II ; IV ; VIII ; 3.

Spelling :

OVÐBEORN

VPÐBRN

OVÐBERN

VPÐBERN

ODTEBRN

OUÐGRIM.

Lincoln. Æ ; C ; Hd 1 ; E ;
II.

York. Æ ; C ; E ; Hd 2 ; I ;
II ; IV.

Spelling :

Spelling :

OVÐGRIM

OVÐGRIM

ODGRIM

SVÐGRIM

ODGRIM

ODGRIM

OEDGRIM

OUÐOLF.

York. Æ ; E ; Hd 2 ; I ; II.

Spelling :

AVÐOLF

OÐOLF

OVÐOLF

See also ALÐVROLF and HARÐOLF.

OWI.

Wilton. I ; II ; IV.

Spelling : **OPI**

REFWINE.

Worcester. II.

Spelling : **REFPINE**

ROSETEL.

York. Hd 2 ; II.

Spelling : **ROSETEL**

SÆFARA.

Salisbury. 1.

Spelling :

SAFARD

Thetford. 2.

Spelling :

SEFARE

Wilton. II ; III ; IV.

Spelling :

SEFAR

SÆVARA

SIEVARA

SÆGELWINE.

Canterbury. IV.

Spelling : **SIEGELPINE**

SÆGOD.

Bedford. E ; Hd 2 ; II ; III ; IV ; V ; 1 ; 2 ; 4.

Spelling :

SIEGOD

SIƆOD

SÆGRIM.

Canterbury. 1.

Spelling :

SEGRIM

Gloucester. 2.

Spelling :

SEGRIM

Shrewsbury. V ; VII ; VIII ;

1 ; 2.

Spelling :

SEGRIM

SÆMÆR.

Canterbury. VIII ; 4 ; Hen. 1.

Spelling : **SIMIER**

Exeter. VII ; VIII.

Spelling : **SIMIER**

SÆWEARD.

Barnstaple. V ; VI ; VIII.

Spelling :

SEPORD

Colchester. 2 ; 3.

Spelling :

SIPORD

Exeter. II ; III ; V.

Spelling :

SÆPEARD

SIEPARD

SEPORD

Lincoln. V.

Spelling :

SIPORD

SÆWINE.

Exeter. Æ ; C ; E ; IV ; V ;

VI ; VII ; VIII ; 1.

Spelling :

SIEPINE

SEPINE

Gloucester. 4 ; Hen 1.

Spelling :

SEPINE

Hastings. 2 ; S.

Spelling :

SEFPIE

Hertford. E ; VIII.

Spelling :

SEMIER

Malmesbury. VIII ; 1 ; 2.

Spelling :

SEPORD

Winchester. Hd 1 ; Hct ;

III ; IV ; V ; VI ; VII ;

mule of VII—VIII ; VIII ;

Hen 1 ; S.

Spelling :

SEPARD

SIPAORD

SIPEAR

SIPIORD

SIPORD

SIPPORD

Huntingdon. Æ ; E ; IV ; 1 ;

Hen 1.

Spelling :

SIEPINE

SIEPI

SEPINE

Northampton. II.

Spelling :

SÆPINE

Southampton. E ; Hd 2 ; II ;

IV ; VIII ; 1 ; 2.

Spelling :

SÆPINE

SIEPINE

SIEPI

SEPINE

SÆWINE—*continued*—

Southwark. 2.

Spelling :

SEPINE

Wilton. Æ ; E ; I ; II ; III ;

IV ; V ; VIII ; I ; 2.

Spelling :

SÆFPINE

SIEPINE

SIEPI

SEPINE

SAVINE

Worcester. VIII ; 2.

Spelling :

SEPINE

SÆWOLD.

Gloucester. 2 ; 4.

Spelling : **SEPOLD**

SEFMROI.

Wilton.

Spelling : **SEFMROI**

SEGWEARD.

Lincoln. II ; III.

Spelling :

SEGPEARD

2EGPAPARD

SERIC.

Guildford. IV ; VIII ; 4.

Spelling :

SERIC

ERIC (?)

SIBODE.

London. III.

Spelling : **SIBODE**

SIBRAND.

Bedford. I ; III ; VIII.

Spelling : **SIBRAND**

SIDELOC.

Wareham. VIII.

Spelling : **SIDELOC**

SIDEMAN.

Wareham. E ; I ; III ; IV.

Spelling :

SIDEMAN
SEOIF-MAN

SIFERÐ.

Lincoln. II ; III ; IV ; V ; VIII.

Spelling :

SAIFPARÐ
SEFPARÐ
2ELPARÐ
SIFERÐ
SIGVERIÐ
SIFFARÐ
SIFRED
SIHFEORÐ
SIHPORÐ

SIGEWULF.

Watchet. VI ; VIII ; 4.

Spelling :

SIGOVLF
SIGOLF
SIPOLF

SILÆC AND }
SILÆCWINE }

Gloucester. E ; II ; V ; VIII.

Spelling :

SILAEC
SILAC
SILIECPINE
SILALPINE

SMÆWINE.

Bristol. E ; 4.

Spelling :

SMIPI

London. 3 ; 5 ; Hen 1 ; S.

Spelling :

SMIEPINE
SMIEPINE

SPERHAVOC.

Warwick. C (?) ; 2 ; Hen 1.

Spelling : **SPERHAFVE**

SPRÆCLINC.

Chichester. VIII.

Winchester. E ; Hd 2 ; VIII.

Spelling :

Spelling :

SPRIECLINE

SPRIECLINE

SPRECLINE

SPRAELINE

SPROT.

Southwark. 2 ; 3 ; 5 ; Hen 1.

Spelling : **SPROT**

SUNOVLF.

Chester. VIII ; 1 ; 2.

Spelling :

SVNOVLF

SVNOLF

VNNVLF

SWARTBRAND.

Wallingford (?). VI.

Spelling : **SPARTBRAND**

SWEARTCOL.

York. Æ ; E ; Hd 2 ; II.

Spelling : **SPEARTCOL**

SWEARTLINC.

Wallingford. Hd 1 ; E ; Hd 2 ; I ; II ; III ; IV ; V ; VI ;
VII ; VIII.

Spelling :

SPEARTLINE

SPEARTLINE

SPEARTINE

SPEATLINE

SPARTLINE

SPARTLINIE

SPEORTNE

SPERTINE

SPIRTINE

SPIRTIC

SPRTIC

SPETLIND

SWEGEN.

Bristol. VIII.

Spelling :

SPEON

SPEIN

Colchester. 4 ; 5.

Spelling :

SPIGEN

SIPIGEN

Ipswich. VIII.

Spelling :

SPEGEN

SPEON

SWETMAN.

London. Æ ; E ; Hd 2 ; I.

Spelling :

SPETMAN

Oxford. E ; VIII ; 5 ; Hen 1.

Spelling :

SPETMAN

SIPETMAN

Southampton. E ; Hd 2 ; II.

Spelling :

SPETMAN

SWEOTINC.

Exeter. III ; mule of III—IV ; IV.

Spelling :

SPEOTINC

SPOTTINC

SPOTTING

SPOTINC

DIODRED.

Hastings. E ; Hd 2 ; I.

Spelling :

DIODRED

Warwick. 1 ; 2.

Spelling :

DIIDRIED

DIIDRED

DIEDRIC.

Hertford. VIII ; 1 ; 2 ; 4.

Spelling :

DIEDRIC

DIIDRIC

DIIDRII

DIEDRIC

London. 3 ; 4 ; Hen 1.

Spelling :

DIIDRIC

DIIDRIC

DOR—.

York. E ; II ; VI ; VIII.

Spelling :

DOR

DORR

DOVR

DVRBERN.

Steining. II ; VIII ; 2 ; 5.

Spelling :

DVRBERN

DVRBRN

DVRBEN

DVRBEN

DRBEN

DURCIL.

Warwick. I ; VIII ; Hen 1.

Spelling :

DVRCIL

DRCIL

DURCITEL.

Bristol. 3 ; Hen 1 ; S ; Matilda.

Spelling : **DVRCIT**

DURGRIM.

Norwich. E ; II ; IV.

Spelling :

DVRGRIM

DVREGRIM

DVRGRM

DURSTAN.

Lincoln. Hd 1 ; 1 ; mule of 1—2 ; 2.

Spelling :

DVRSTAN

DVRESTAN

DVRST

DEARSTAN

TVRRI.

St. David's. VIII.

Spelling : **TVRRI**

UHTRED.

London. E ; III.

Spelling : **VHTRED**

ULFCITEL.

Cambridge. VII ; VIII.

Spelling :

VLFCITL

VLFCIL

Norwich. Æ ; VIII ; Hen I.

Spelling :

VLFCITEL

VLFCITL

VLCITL

York. Æ ; C ; E ; Hd 2 ; I ;

II.

Spelling :

VLFKETEL

VLFKECCEL

VLFCETEL

ULF.

Lincoln. Æ ; C ; E ; IV ; VIII ; 1 ; 2 ; Hen I.

Spelling : **ULF**

ULF-. See WULF-.

UNSWAC.

Lincoln. IV ; V ; VI.

Spelling :

VNSPAC

VNSPAE

WALGTEER. Possibly intended for WALTER.

London. 2.

Spelling : **PALGTEER**

WIBERN.

Cambridge. E ; 1.

Spelling : **PIBERN**

WIDEMAN.

Wallingford. VII.

Spelling : **PIDEMAN**

WIGINE.

Worcester. E ; I.

Spelling : **PIGINE**

WIHTRIC.

Lincoln. IV ; V.

Spelling : **PIHTRIC**

WIMUND.

Winchester. V ; VIII ; 2 ; 3 ; Hen 1.

Spelling : **PIMVND**

WINEDÆG.

Canterbury. C ; Hd 1 ; Hct ;

VIII ; 1 ; 2 ; 3 ; 5 ;

Hen 1.

Spelling :

PINEDI**PINDEI****PINDIE**

Lincoln. 3.

Spelling :

PINDEI**PINDI**

Romney. VIII ; 2.

Spelling :

PINEDEI**PINEDI****PINDEI**

WINFRÆD.

Canterbury. C ; Hd 1 ; I.

Spelling :

PINFRED

WINRÆD.

Lewes. III ; IV ; VI ; VII ; VIII ; 2 ; 4 ; Hen 1.

Spelling :

PINERÆD**PINERED****PINRIED****PINRED**

WIXIE.

Ilchester. I ; II ; III ; VI

Spelling :

PIXIE**PIXSI****PICHXSLI**

WUL-. See WULF-,

WULFBOLD.

Canterbury. VIII; 4.

Spelling :

PVLBOLD

PVLBOD

WULFGAR.

London. Æ; C; Hd 1;

Hd 2; 2; Hen 1.

Spelling :

PVLGAR

Southwark. 2; 4; 5.

Spelling :

PVLGAR

WULFGEAT.

Gloucester. E; Hd 2; II;

III; V; VIII.

Spelling :

PVLFGĒAT

PVLEGEAT

PVLFGĒT

VFGĒT

Shaftesbury. 2.

Spelling :

PVLFGĒD

WULFMÆR.

Romney. C; E; Hd 2; I;

VIII; 2; 4.

Spelling :

PVLFMÆR

PVLFMIER

PVLFMER

PVLMIER

Shrewsbury. Æ: C; E;

Hd 2; IV.

Spelling :

PVLFMIER

WULFNOD.

London. Æ; C; 4.

Spelling :

PVLNOD

Stafford. E (?); II.

Spelling :

PVLFNOD

WULFRED.

Canterbury. E; Hd 2; I; S.

Spelling .

PVLFRED

PVIFRED

PVFRED

VOL. III.

M

WULFRIC.

Canterbury. IV ; V ; VIII ;

Hen 1.

Spelling :

PVLFRIC

Colchester. Æ ; VIII.

Spelling :

PVLFRIC

London. Æ ; C ; E ; IV ; 2.

Spelling :

PVLFRIC

Norwich. 4 (249).

Spelling :

VLFRI**WULFSI.**

Lincoln. II.

Spelling : **PVLFSI****PVLSI****WULFSTAN.**

Cricklade. V.

Spelling :

PVLSTAN

Lincoln. IV.

Spelling :

PVLSTAN**WULFWINE.**

Canterbury. Æ ; Hd 1 ; III ;

3 ; Hen 1.

Spelling :

PVLFPINE

Colchester. Æ ; C ; Hd 1 ;

E ; Hd 2 ; III ; V ; VIII ;

Hen 1.

Spelling :

PVLFPINE**PVLFPIE**

Nottingham. 1 ; Hen 1.

Spelling :

PVLFRIC

Shrewsbury. 3.

Spelling :

PVLFRIC

Sudbury. VIII ; 2 ; 3 ; 5 ;

Hen 1.

Spelling :

PVLFRIC

London. Æ ; C ; Hd 1 ; E ;

IV.

Spelling :

PVLSTAN

Exeter. E ; IV ; V ; VI ; 3.

Spelling :

PVLFPINE**PVLFPNE**

Ipswich. II ; VIII.

Spelling :

PVLFPINE

WULFWINE—*continued*—

London. Æ ; C ; Hd 1 ; E ;
I ; I (var : bust to right)
II ; III ; IV ; VII ; 2 ;
3 ; 4 ; 5 ; Hen 1.

Spelling :

PVLFPINE

PVLPINE

PVLFIE

PVLFI

PVLEIN

Maldon. Hd 1 ; 2.

Spelling :

PVLFPINE

PVLFPINNE

Nottingham. 3.

Spelling :

PVLFPINE

Oxford. Æ ; C ; E ; II ; III ;
IV ; VI ; VII ; VIII ; 1 ;
2.

Spelling :

PVLFPI

WULFWORD.

Colchester. VII.

Spelling :

PVLFPORD

London. Hd 1 ; E ; Hd 2 ;
IV ; V ; 4 ; Hen 1.

Spelling :

PVLFPORD

Rochester. III ; 3 ; Hen 1.

Spelling :

PVLFPINE

Southampton. III.

Spelling :

PVLPI

Southwark. 5.

Spelling :

PVLFI

Stamford. E ; III.

Spelling :

PVLFPINE

Wallingford. Æ ; C ; Hd 1 ;
E ; VII.

Spelling :

PVLFPINE

Winchester. 2 ; Hen 1.

Spelling :

PVLFPINE

Nottingham. 3.

Spelling :

PVLFPORD

Sandwich. 5 ; Hen 1.

Spelling :

PVLFPOR

Stamford. VI ; VIII ; 2.

Spelling :

PVLFPORD

PVLFPOR

CHAPTER VII.

THE DOMESDAY BOROUGHES.

The numismatic importance of a place having the status of a borough has not, it is thought, been hitherto sufficiently recognised.

In Chapter V. reference was made to the law of Æthelstan enacted at the Synod of Greatley, and to the fact that in addition to the provision made for there being moneyers in certain important places specified in that law, it was thereby also ordained that there should be one moneyer "elsewhere in the other Burghs."

Mr. Ballard in *The Domesday Boroughs*,¹ pp. 9–10, gives a list of *all* those places which in Domesday Book are either expressly styled boroughs or are stated to contain burgesses.

He classifies them into :

- A. Composite boroughs, or those of heterogeneous tenure ;
- B. Simple boroughs, or those of homogeneous tenure, or ownership ;

and he sub-classifies the Composite boroughs into :

- 1. County boroughs,
- 2. Quasi-county boroughs.

For the purposes of the present work the main classification into (A) Composite boroughs, and (B) Simple boroughs, is sufficient, and in the compilation of the following lists Mr. Ballard's attribution of a borough to one class or the other has been adopted, except where specified to the contrary and indicated by italics.

In each list the existence of a mint in Saxon and Norman times, or, to write definitely, (i) at any time prior to the reign of William I. and (ii) at any time during the reign of either William I. or William II. is noted.

¹ *The Domesday Boroughs*, by Adolphus Ballard, B.A., LL.B., Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1904.

(A.) COMPOSITE BOROUGHs, comprising county boroughs
and quasi-county boroughs.

Name of borough.	County wherein situate.	Remarks.
Arundel	Sussex	No coins attributed to.
Axbridge	Somerset	" "
Barnstaple	Devonshire	Mint : Saxon and Norman.
Bath	Somerset	" " "
Bedford	Bedfordshire	" " "
Bridport	Dorset	Mint : Norman only.
Bristol	Gloucestershire	" Saxon and Norman.
Bruton	Somerset	" Saxon only.
Buckingham	Buckinghamshire	" "
Calne	Wiltshire	No coins attributed to.
Cambridge	Cambridgeshire	Mint : Saxon and Norman.
Canterbury	Kent... ..	" " "
Chester	Cheshire	" " "
Chichester	Sussex	" " "
Colchester	Essex	" " "
Cricklade	Wiltshire	" " "
Derby	Derbyshire	" " "
Dorchester	Dorset	" " "
Dover	Kent... ..	" " "
Droitwich... ..	Worcestershire	No coins attributed to.
Dunwich	Suffolk	Mint : Saxon only.
Exeter	Devonshire	" Saxon and Norman.
Gloucester	Gloucestershire	" " "
Grantham... ..	Lincolnshire... ..	No coins attributed to.
Guildford	Surrey	Mint : Saxon and Norman.
Hastings	Sussex	" " "
Hereford	Herefordshire	" " "
Hertford	Hertfordshire	" " "
Huntingdon	Huntingdonshire	" " "
Hythe	Kent... ..	" " "
Ilchester	Somerset	" " "
Ipswich	Suffolk	" " "
Langport	Somerset	" Saxon only.
Leicester	Leicestershire	" Saxon and Norman.
Lewes	Sussex	" " "
Lincoln	Lincolnshire	" " "

Name of borough.	County wherein situate.	Remarks.
London	Middlesex	Mint : Saxon and Norman.
Lydford	Devonshire	„ Saxon only.
Maldon	Essex	„ Saxon and Norman.
Malmesbury	Wiltshire	„ „ „
Milbourne	Somerset	„ Saxon only.
Northampton	Northamptonshire	„ Saxon and Norman.
Norwich	Norfolk	„ „ „
Nottingham	Nottinghamshire	„ „ „
Oxford	Oxfordshire	„ „ „
Pevensey	Sussex	„ Norman only.
Reading	Berkshire	„ Saxon only.
Rhuddlan... ..	Cheshire (<i>D.B.</i>) ¹	„ Norman only.
Rochester... ..	Kent... ..	„ Saxon and Norman.
Romney	Kent... ..	„ „ „
<i>Salisbury</i>	Wiltshire	„ „ „
Sandwich	Kent... ..	„ „ „
Shaftesbury	Dorset	„ „ „
Shrewsbury	Shropshire	„ „ „
Southampton	Hampshire	„ „ „
Southwark	Surrey	„ „ „
Stafford	Staffordshire... ..	„ „ „
Stamford	Lincolnshire... ..	„ „ „
Sudbury	Suffolk	„ „ „
Tamworth	Warwickshire	„ „ „
Thetford	Norfolk	„ „ „
Torksey	Lincolnshire... ..	„ Saxon only.
Totnes	Devonshire	„ Saxon and Norman.
Twynham... ..	Hampshire	„ Norman only.
Wallingford	Berkshire	„ Saxon and Norman.
Wareham	Dorset	„ „ „
Warwick	Warwickshire	„ „ „
Wilton	Wiltshire	„ „ „
Wimbourne	Dorset	No coins attributed to.
Winchcombe	Gloucestershire	Mint : Saxon and Norman.
Winchester	Hampshire	„ „ „
Worcester... ..	Worcestershire	„ „ „
Yarmouth... ..	Suffolk	„ Norman only.
York	Yorkshire	„ Saxon and Norman.

¹ In Flintshire but then attached to Chester.

Salisbury is excluded by Mr. Ballard from his list of Domesday Boroughs, although he mentions that it is included as such in Professor Tait's map in the *Historical Atlas of Modern Europe*. It possessed a mint in both Saxon and Norman times and contains the style of borough in its name.

No coins have been attributed to Arundel (*D.B.* Harundel), Axbridge (*D.B.* Aissebrige), Calne, Droitwich (*D.B.* Wich), Grantham, and Wimbourne (*D.B.* Winborne and Winburne).

As regards Arundel it would seem that the place owed its chief importance to the existence there of Earl Roger's Castle, but as Earl Roger also owned the city of Chichester, it was probably deemed expedient to carry on any coinage that was required at that ancient mint. In reference to the other towns it is possible that coins of the places mentioned below in the first column, may lie unappropriated amongst those attributed to the more important mints specified in the second column :

<i>Possible Mints.</i>	<i>Mints.</i>
Axbridge (<i>D.B.</i> Aissebrige).	Axminster (?), Exeter, etc.
Calne (<i>D.B.</i> Calne).	Canterbury.
Droitwich (<i>D.B.</i> Wich).	Winchester and Worcester.
Grantham (<i>D.B.</i> Grantham).	Cambridge (<i>D.B.</i> Grantebrige).
Wimbourne (<i>D.B.</i> Winburne).	Winchester.

Bruton, Buckingham, Dunwich, Langport, Lydford, Milbourne, Reading and Torksey were mints in Saxon times and retained the status of boroughs in Domesday, but no Norman coins have hitherto been attributed to them.

On the other hand Bridport, Pevensey, Rhuddlan, Twynham (Christchurch) and Yarmouth appear only as mints in Norman times. They are all styled boroughs in Domesday, and coins of all are now known, the attributions to Twynham and Yarmouth having been made by the present writer.

We now come to the simple boroughs, or those owned entirely by one person, whether the king or a subject. Some of these appear to have developed on otherwise purely agricultural estates, whilst others

arose around the castles of feudal lords and all, or nearly all, appear to have become of any consequence just before or shortly after the Conquest.

(B.) SIMPLE BOROUGHES.

Name of borough.	County wherein situate.	Domesday owner.	Remarks.
Ashwell ...	Hertfordshire ...	Abbot of Westminster ...	No mint.
Beccles ...	Suffolk ...	Church of St. Edmund ...	„
Bedwin ...	Wiltshire...	The King ...	Mint: Saxon and Norman. ¹
<i>Berkeley</i> ...	Gloucestershire ...	The King ...	Mint: Saxon and Norman.
Berkhamsted ...	Hertfordshire ...	Earl of Mortain ...	No mint.
Bradford ...	Wiltshire...	Church of Shaftesbury ...	„
Bridlington ...	Yorkshire ...	The King ...	„
<i>Bury St. Edmund's</i>	Suffolk ...	The church of St. Edmund	Mint: Saxon and Norman.
Castle Clifford ...	Herefordshire ...	Ralph de Toden ...	No mint.
Clare ...	Suffolk ...	Richard, son of Earl Gilbert	„
Devizes ² ...	Wiltshire ...	The King ...	„
<i>Durham</i> ...	Northumbria ³ ...	The Bishop of Durham ...	Mint: Norman only.
Eye ...	Suffolk ...	Robert Malet ...	No mint.
<i>Fordwich</i> ...	Kent ...	Church of St. Augustine ...	„
<i>Launceston</i> ...	Cornwall...	Canons of St. Stephen ...	Mint: Saxon and Norman.
Louth ...	Lincolnshire ...	Bishop of Lincoln...	No mint.
<i>Marlborough</i> ...	Wiltshire ...	The King ...	Mint: Norman only.
Newark ...	Nottinghamshire	Bishop Remigius ...	Mint: Saxon (?)
<i>Newport</i> ...	Buckinghamshire	Wm. FitzAnsculf ...	Mint: Saxon only.
Okehampton ...	Devonshire ...	Baldwin the Sheriff ...	No mint.

¹ Transferred by William I. to Marlborough.

² *D.B.* Theodulveside.

³ *D.B.*

Name of borough.	County wherein situate.	Domesday owner.	Remarks.
Penwortham ¹	Cheshire (<i>D.B.</i>)...	Roger Pictavensis...	No mint.
Pershore ...	Worcestershire ...	St. Peter's, Westminster ...	"
Pocklington	Yorkshire ...	The King ...	"
Pontefract ²	Yorkshire ...	The King, after him Ilbert de Lacy.	"
Quatford ...	Shropshire ...	Earl Roger ...	"
Rye ...	Sussex ...	The church of Fécamp ...	"
St. Alban's	Hertford...	The church of St. Alban ...	"
<i>St. David's</i>	Pembrokeshire ...	—	Mint: Norman only.
Seasalter ...	Kent ...	Archbishop of Canterbury	No mint.
Stanstead...	Hertfordshire ...	Ralf, brother of Ilger ...	"
Steyning ...	Sussex ...	The Church of Fécamp ...	Mint: Saxon and Norman.
Taunton ...	Somerset ...	The Bishop of Winchester	Mint: Saxon and Norman.
Tewkesbury	Gloucestershire ...	The King ...	No mint.
Tutbury ...	Staffordshire ...	Henry de Ferrers ...	"
Warminster	Wiltshire...	The King ...	Mint: Saxon only.
<i>Watchet</i> ...	Somerset ...	William de Moion ...	Mint: Saxon and Norman.
Wigmore ...	Herefordshire ...	Ralph de Mortemer ...	No mint.

Of the above-mentioned simple boroughs Berkeley, Bury St. Edmund's, Marlborough, Launceston and Watchet are omitted from Mr. Ballard's list on the ground that none of them is referred to in Domesday Book as being a borough or as containing burgesses.

Durham and St. David's are both situate outside of the area covered by Domesday.

Newport in Buckinghamshire would appear to have been overlooked, as the term "burgenses" occurs in the entry relative thereto (*D.B.* i, 148 b. 2).

Marlborough contains the style in its designation and is classed as a borough by Professor Tait. Our numismatic evidence shows that

¹ *D.B.* Peneverdant; near Preston, Lancashire.

² *D.B.* Tateshalle.

William I., early in his reign, transferred the Bedwin mint to this place.

Fordwich is classed by Mr. Ballard as a composite borough, but at the time of Domesday Book it belonged in its entirety to St. Augustine's, Canterbury.

In addition to the places specified in the above two lists of composite and simple boroughs respectively existing at the time of the compilation of Domesday Book, there were many other places which undoubtedly had been boroughs in Saxon times and which, as such, possessed mints and exercised the right of coinage.

In many instances the exercise of such rights had been abandoned prior to the Conquest and the places had lost or abandoned their status as boroughs.

There are omissions and inaccuracies in the lists of pre-Conquest mints, given by Mr. Ballard on the authority of Professor York Powell's article in the *English Historical Review*, xi, 759, but it is outside the scope of the present treatise to deal with these.

From the evidence above set out, it would seem that the following conclusions may be safely deduced :—

1. That every borough existing in the reign of Æthelstan possessed a mint.
2. That a place on becoming a composite borough prior to the reign of William I. became possessed of a mint.
3. That simple boroughs belonging to the king had a mint or not according to his pleasure.
4. That a composite borough possessing a pre-Conquest mint was with few exceptions allowed to continue the operation of the same.
5. That a simple borough created or granted to a subject after the Conquest, had no mint unless the same was specifically granted.

The separate histories of the mints will follow in the order given below, but it is quite possible that some modification and additions may be made when the histories are completed for publication.

THE MINTS OF WILLIAM I. AND II.

BEDFORDSHIRE— Bedford.	GLOUCESTERSHIRE— Berkeley.
BERKSHIRE— Wallingford.	Bristol.
CAMBRIDGESHIRE— Cambridge.	Gloucester.
CHESHIRE— Chester.	Winchcombe.
Rhuddlan (Flintshire).	HAMPSHIRE— Southampton.
CORNWALL— Launceston.	Twynham (Christchurch).
DERBYSHIRE— Derby.	Winchester.
DEVONSHIRE— Barnstaple.	HEREFORDSHIRE— Hereford.
Exeter.	HERTFORDSHIRE— Hertford.
Totnes.	HUNTINGDONSHIRE— Huntingdon.
DORSET— Bridport.	KENT— Canterbury.
Dorchester.	Dover.
Shaftesbury.	Hythe.
Wareham.	Rochester.
DURHAM— Durham.	Romney.
ESSEX— Colchester.	Sandwich.
Maldon.	LEICESTERSHIRE— Leicester.
FLINTSHIRE— <i>See Cheshire—Rhuddlan.</i>	LINCOLNSHIRE— Lincoln.
	Stamford.
	MIDDLESEX— London.
	NORFOLK— Norwich.
	Thetford.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE—

Northampton.

Peterborough.

Stamford (*see* Lincolnshire).

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE—

Nottingham.

OXFORDSHIRE—

Oxford.

PEMBROKESHIRE—

St. David's.

SHROPSHIRE—

Shrewsbury.

SOMERSET—

Bath.

Ilchester.

Taunton.

Watchet.

STAFFORDSHIRE—

Stafford.

SUFFOLK—

Bury St. Edmund's.

Ipswich.

Sudbury.

Yarmouth.

SURREY—

Guildford.

Southwark.

SUSSEX—

Chichester.

Hastings.

Lewes.

Pevensey.

Steving.

WARWICKSHIRE—

Tamworth.

Warwick.

WILTSHIRE—

Bedwin.

Cricklade.

Malmesbury.

Marlborough.

Salisbury.

Wilton.

WORCESTERSHIRE—

Worcester.

YORKSHIRE—

York.



ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE BUSTS OF JAMES I. ON HIS
SILVER COINAGE. (No. 16, Gold).
XVII. CENTURY.

THE BUSTS OF JAMES I. ON HIS SILVER COINAGE.

By LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., *Librarian*.

MY object in this paper is to amplify the description of the busts of James I. on his silver coinage as given in Hawkins in his *Silver Coins of England*, 3rd edition. I will therefore take these coins as the standard, making a passing remark concerning the gold types when a corresponding change occurs.

First bust. James I. was proclaimed King of England on 24th March, 1602-3, and on the 21st of May following, indentures were entered into with the Master of the Mint for the coining of his new moneys, the silver issue of which was to be of the same denomination as that of his predecessor. The designation of King of Scotland was added to the titles in the legend on the obverse, and the arms of Scotland to the shield on the reverse, whilst a new legend **EXVRGAT DEVS DISSIPENTVR INIMICI** was substituted for the old **POSVI DEVM ADIVTOREM MEVM**. The bust appearing on the shilling, Fig. 2 of the Plate; sixpence, Fig. 4; half-groat, Fig. 1; and penny, Fig. 3, represents the King clothed in figured armour, crowned, hair short, beard cut square, and the countenance has a strained look.

There was a corresponding bust on the half sovereign and smaller gold coins.

Second bust. Later in this year, 1603, we find that an alteration occurs. His Majesty, perhaps, disapproved of his portrait, which cannot by any means be considered flattering. It is recorded in Ruding that on the 13th of March, 1603-4, the King and Queen visited the Mint in the Tower, where they coined money and gave it to divers persons there present. This visit may have been caused by the King's desire to see the coins struck with his new effigy. Sixpences

of 1603 occur with both busts, Figs. 4 and 5, but those bearing the later one, Fig. 5, are rare. The King now appears more portly in form, back upright, beard pointed and resting on his breast, and his countenance is placid, Figs. 5 and 6. No alteration occurred in the half-groat and penny. This change could not apply to the half sovereign and smaller gold coins, for apparently none were coined, but the figure on the sovereign was slightly altered.

Third bust. In 1604 he assumed the title of King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, which style, according to Ruding, was ordered by proclamation, dated 20th of October, to be used upon the coins. Upon the 11th of November the necessary indenture was entered into, and on the 16th of the same month the new coins were proclaimed current. These are known as the "Second Coinage" and bear the legend **QVÆ DEVS CONIVNXIT NEMO SEPARET** on the reverse.

The bust now shows another alteration: the figured armour still remains, but the beard is cut square and stands out from the breast, whilst the crown is tilted a little back on the head, Fig. 7. With this coinage the bust disappears from the half groat and penny. There was also an alteration in the gold coinage.

Fourth bust. The next change takes place in 1605. The armour is no longer figured, but plain; the hair longer, parted down the back, brushed forward, and just appears under the crown on the forehead, Fig. 8. This last feature is much more marked on the sixpences, Fig. 9. Sixpences of 1605 with mint-mark rose occur with both these busts, Figs. 10 and 11, thus showing that the alteration occurs in that year. Figured armour now disappears from the gold coins.

Fifth bust. The year 1608 shows another alteration as far as the shilling is concerned. The hair is longer, brushed back from the head, and appears below the crown on the forehead. This feature is more pronounced on some of the dies than others, Fig. 19, the moustache and beard being longer. This bust does not appear on the sixpences, and the corresponding change on the double crown does not take place until 1612, with the Tower mint-mark. The change of mint-mark from grapes to coronet occurred, according to Snelling, on November 11th,

1607, and this mark continued to be used until May 17th, 1609, a period of 18 months. Both busts occur on shillings with the coronet mint-mark, Figs. 13 and 14, and as the numbers I have met with are pretty equally divided between them, 1608 may, in the absence of other evidence, be fairly put down as the year in which the new head was introduced.

Very little silver money was coined between 1613 and 1621, and the coins bearing the mint-marks for the intervening years are correspondingly rare. I have seen no shilling or sixpence bearing any mint-mark between the ton, 1615, and rose, 1621. There are, however, shillings bearing the mint-marks, book, 1616, cross, 1618, and spur-rowel, 1619, reported to be in existence ; but the last, I think, should belong to the next series.

Sixth bust. In 1621 there was a great acceleration in the coinage of silver, perhaps attributable to the working of the Welsh mines in the neighbourhood of Aberystwith. On the coins of this year the last alteration appears, though probably the official change took place in 1619, at the same time as that on the gold issues. The hair is slightly longer and curls up over the edge of the crown on the forehead, the beard is shorter and stands out more from the chin, whilst the whole appearance of the face is coarser, Fig. 15.

This bust continued till the king's decease, which occurred in March, 1624-5. To correspond with this, on the gold coins we find a very great change, which was effected in 1619 when the laurel and its sub-divisions were introduced. On these coins the effigy of the Monarch is turned to the left, wearing the laurel wreath. The armour is hidden by a scarf, which gives his Majesty the appearance of being about to sit down to dinner with a napkin tucked under his chin, Fig. 16. This ugly design, so coarse in execution, is attributed to William Holle, who, in 1618, had been appointed Cuneator of the Mint, *vide* Mr. L. Forrer's *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists, &c.*

To recapitulate and to give the mint-marks and dates of the coins I have met with, we have :—

First bust, 1603 (1604 for half-groat and penny).

Mint-mark, thistle—shilling, Fig. 2 ; sixpence, 1603, Fig. 4 ; half-groat, Fig. 1 ; and penny, Fig. 3.

Mint-mark, lis—half-groat, penny.

Second bust, 1604.

Mint-mark, thistle—shilling, Fig. 6 ; sixpence, 1603, Fig. 5, 1604.

Mint-mark, lis—shilling, sixpence, 1604.

Third bust, 1604–5.

Mint-mark, lis—shilling, Fig. 7 ; sixpence, 1604, 1605.

Mint-mark, rose—shilling, sixpence, 1605, Fig. 10.

Fourth bust, shillings, 1605–8 ; sixpences, 1605–19.

Shillings :—Mint-marks, rose, escallop, grapes, Fig. 8 ; coronet, Fig. 13.

Some of the escallop shillings vary by having the mint-mark of different sizes and in the number of pellets on each side of it.

Sixpences :—Mint-marks, rose, 1605, Fig. 11, 1606 ; escallop, 1606, 1607 ; grapes, 1607 ; coronet, 1607, 1608 ; key, 1609, 1610 (the “10” over “09”) ; bell over key, 1610 (the “10” over “09”), Fig. 17 ; bell, 1610, *British Museum* ; obverse, mullet ; reverse, bell, 1610, Fig. 18 ; mullet, 1611 ; tower, 1612. Mr. S. Spink informed me that his firm has had one in their possession bearing this mark and date ; trefoil, 1613, Fig. 9 ; cinquefoil, 1615, *British Museum*, and ton, 1615, *British Museum*. Snelling mentions a sixpence of 1614, which must have had the cinquefoil mark. The sixpences after 1606 have more generally HI for HIB in the legend, Fig. 9.

Fifth bust, 1608–19.

Shillings :—Mint-marks, coronet, Fig. 14 ; key, bell, bell over key, mullet, tower, trefoil, cinquefoil, ton, Fig. 12.

The Rev. Henry Christmas in *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series, I, 27, mentions the cross, and Snelling the book and spur-rowel marks ; but the last, I consider, ought to have the sixth bust.

Some of these shillings have MA for MAG, Fig. 12 ; BRI for BRIT, Fig. 12 ; and HI for HIB, Fig. 19, in the legend.

Sixth bust, 1619–24.

Shillings :—Mint-marks, rose, Fig. 15 ; thistle, lis and trefoil ; some bearing the last three marks have a plume over the shield on the reverse, Fig. 20.

Sixpences :—Mint-marks, rose, 1621 ; thistle over rose, 1621, Fig. 21 ; thistle, 1621–3 ; lis, 1623, 1624 ; altered die, Fig. 22, 1624 ; and trefoil, 1624.

For these coins a great number of different dies were used, varying from one another in small details, such as the addition or omission of pellets at the sides of the mint-mark or in the legend, substituting **JACOB'** for **JACOBVS'** Fig. 20 ; **MA** for **MAG**, Fig. 23 ; **FR** for **FRA**, Fig. 28 ; **HI** for **HIB**, Fig. 20 ; and on the reverse by a variation in the size of the harp, Figs. 23 and 24.

Some of the sixpences with the rose and thistle mint-marks have a plain instead of a bird-headed harp, Figs. 25, 26 and 27. Fig. 26 has a curious error in the reverse legend, in reading **SEPRAT** instead of **SEPARET**, and in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1876, p. 152, Major A. B. Creeke records a sixpence of 1623, mint-mark, lis, on which the shield of the reverse bears the royal arms, quarterly, France first and third, and England second and fourth, instead of first and fourth and second and third respectively. Hawkins mentions a rose shilling as having a plain harp.

The **QVÆ DEVS** sixpence, mint-mark thistle, 1604, I have not seen and therefore am unable to place it. Mr. Kenyon in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, V. 106, mentions that there was one in the Oswestry Find.

James I. was the first English monarch after the great alteration in the design of the coinage under his great-grandfather, Henry VII., to have himself represented in armour on the smaller denominations of the silver coins. It was, perhaps, human vanity which induced the most unwarlike of our sovereigns to depict himself in the most warlike of costumes. Vain as this king was, this representation was more likely due to the prevailing fashion among the European rulers of that time, as is shown on the contemporary coins of France and other continental nations. It is only right to add that he is so represented on his Scottish coins before his succession to the throne of England.

We can also trace the gradual change of fashion, by the continued lengthening of the hair, from the short cropped head of the Tudor period to the lovelocks of the Cavaliers of his son's reign, which were subsequently exchanged for the flowing peruke of the times of his grandchildren.

A comparison of the portraits of King James on contemporary paintings, so far as they are accessible to me, with those upon his coins

has been practically useless, owing to the fact that, with one exception, they are undated. The exception is that in the National Portrait Gallery, painted by Van Somers, and dated 1621, which depicts the king in his royal robes. The beard and whiskers are as represented on the sixth bust, and 1621 was the year it first appeared.

There is, however, another portrait which, though not dated, bears evidence from which an approximate date can be assumed. It is on a silver plaque, attributed to Simon Passe, and illustrated in Mr. Henderson's *James I. and VI.*, one of the Goupil series of Royal Biographies. The plaque bears portraits of the king, his Queen, Anne of Denmark, and Henry Prince of Wales. The last appears as a lad, apparently of about 10 years of age. As the Prince died in 1613, in his 19th year, these portraits must have been made some time about the year 1603. The king is represented with his beard as depicted in the first and third busts which appeared in 1603 and 1604 respectively.

The evidence, partial as it is, tends to show that the portraits of the king both on the coins and on the contemporary pictures, in giving him the same peculiar features, must have been true to life.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATE.

1.	First	bust	Half-groat : mint-mark, thistle.	
2.	"	"	Shilling : " "	
3.	"	"	Penny : mint-mark, lis.	
4.	"	"	Sixpence : " thistle, 1603	} Showing the year of change.
5.	Second	"	" " " 1603	
6.	"	"	Shilling : mint-mark, thistle.	
7.	Third	"	" " lis.	
8.	Fourth	"	" " grapes.	
9.	"	"	Sixpence : " cinquefoil, 1613, showing hair more marked under crown on forehead, and HI for HIB .	
10.	Third	"	Sixpence : mint-mark, rose, 1605	} Showing the year of change.
11.	Fourth	"	" " " "	
12.	Fifth	"	Shilling : " ton, MA for MAG and BRI for BRIT .	
13.	Fourth	"	Shilling : mint-mark, coronet	} Showing the year of change.
14.	Fifth	"	" " " "	

15.	Sixth	bust	Shilling : mint-mark, rose, MAG and HIB .
16.	"	"	(Gold) Laureated head ; mint-mark, lis, showing difference in the bust.
17.	Fourth	"	Sixpence : mint-mark, bell over key, 1610, the " 10 " over the " 09."
18.	"	"	Sixpence : obverse, mint-mark, mullet ; reverse, bell, 1610.
19.	Fifth	"	Shilling : mint-mark, coronet, showing difference of die in the hair on the forehead ; also HI for HIB .
20.	Sixth	"	Shilling : mint-mark, lis ; reverse, plume over shield ; also JACOB and HI in the obverse legend.
21.	"	"	Sixpence : mint-mark, thistle over rose, 1621, and bird-headed harp.
22.	"	"	Sixpence : mint-mark, lis, 1624, altered die ; also large harp on reverse.
23.	"	"	Shilling : mint-mark, lis, MA for MAG .
24.	"	"	Sixpence : " " 1623, small harp on reverse.
25.	"	"	" " rose, 1621, plain harp on reverse.
26.	"	"	" " " 1621, bird-headed harp, SEPRAT.
27.	"	"	" " thistle, 1621, plain harp on reverse.
28.	"	"	" " trefoil, 1624, FR for FRA .

THE ROYAL FARTHING TOKENS.

PART I., 1613-1636.

BY FLEET-SURGEON A. E. WEIGHTMAN, R.N.



WING to a variety of causes, one of which—and perhaps the most important—was the high price of silver, it became a difficult matter to coin the penny in silver, and to so coin the halfpenny and farthing was impracticable altogether.

As a consequence, the Crown, in the time of Elizabeth, restricted the issue of these small moneys to such an extent that the small traders took upon themselves the issue of private tokens, mostly made of pewter or lead. These proved extremely useful to the traders and their clients, but their use was accompanied by many abuses and resulted in losses to the poor who made use of them, and in loss of profit to the Crown. Elizabeth made some attempt to remedy the matter, but with no further result than the preparation of a few patterns for a token coinage in copper. In 1606, James I. took into consideration proposals for the coinage of farthing tokens. He had himself instituted a copper coinage in Scotland, and knew the convenience to the Irish of Elizabeth's copper coinage made for the payment of her army in Ireland; hence, in the year 1613, after much deliberation, he decided to accede to the proposal of Lord Harington to make farthing tokens in copper. The proclamation which authorised the issue of these tokens declared that: "the said farthing tokens should be made exactly and artificially of copper by engines and instruments, having on one side two sceptres crossing under one diadem, and on the other side a harp crowned, with the king's title—**IACOBVS DEI GRATIA MAGNAE BRITANNIAE FRANCIAE ET HIBERNIAE REX**: with a privy mark to be set upon them from time to time whereby to discern and distinguish them and to be altered according to occasion, for

preventing the falsifying and counterfeiting the same." It was also stipulated that the tokens should not be less than six grains in weight.

On obtaining the patent, Lord Harington appointed Gerard Malynes and William Cockayne as his agents, but William Cockayne, not liking some of the clauses of the patent, dropped out and was succeeded by John Couchman. Lord Harington also contracted with Christopher Warwick, Peter Malynes and Samuel Malynes for the manufacture of the tokens, and these engaged an engineer, a graver and other workmen. Gerard Malynes was the son of a mint-master who emigrated to Antwerp, where Gerard was born, and returned to England at the restoration of the currency by Elizabeth in 1561. Gerard was appointed, about 1586, one of the Commissioners of Trade sent to the Low Countries for settling the value of moneys, and later was frequently consulted on mercantile affairs by the Privy Council during the reigns of Elizabeth and James. He wrote considerably on mercantile subjects, and though much that he wrote has since been discounted, he was, no doubt, a great authority on his subject. Malynes spared no pains to make the scheme of the Royal farthing tokens successful, but the loss resulting from its early failure fell chiefly on him. In a petition which he addressed to the king from the Fleet Prison on the 15th of February, 1619, he complained that he had been ruined by his employers, who had insisted on paying him in his own farthings.

The after history of the patent is of considerable interest as elucidating some of the difficulties of duly classifying this very large series of an inferior coinage, and the following facts derived from Snelling, Ruding and a few others, are all that is known of it.

The patent was first granted to the first Lord Harington on the 19th of May, 1613, probably as some satisfaction for the expense he had been put to whilst having charge of that very extravagant lady, the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I. He held it until his death, nine months later, on the 27th of February, 1614. It then devolved upon his son, and he, dying after a few months, the patent came into the hands of his mother, Lady Harington. As some doubts arose as to the patent continuing in force upon the deaths of Lord Harington, the elder, and his son, a proclamation dated the 21st June, 1614, declared

it still valid and confirmed it to Lady Harington. Mr. Vaux, in a paper read before the Numismatic Society of London on the 20th of April, 1876, entitled, "Indenture preserved in the Bodleian Library relating to certain farthings of James I," states that Lady Harington gave up the patent on the 28th of June, 1614; and that she was succeeded in the working of it by Ludwick, Duke of Lennox. Ruding says that in a proclamation dated the 28th of June, 1622, the Duke of Lennox and the Marquis of Hamilton were stated to be in possession of the patent at that date. This was at a time when the Irish Government was trying to suppress the use of traders' tokens in Ireland and to enforce the farthings made under this patent. This Duke of Lennox was created Duke of Richmond in 1623, and dying in 1624 without leaving posterity, was succeeded in the patent by his widow Frances, Dowager Duchess of Richmond and Lennox, who had as partner in it, Sir Francis Crane, and it was confirmed to them on the 30th of May, 1625, by Charles I. upon his accession. The next holders of the patent were Henry, Lord Maltravers, and Sir Francis Crane, who are mentioned as such in a proclamation dated the 20th of June, 1634. In 1636 directions were given to Lord Maltravers and Sir Francis Crane "to make a new sort of farthing token which should have a little brass in the middle of the copper to distinguish the true farthings from forgeries." The harp on the reverse was replaced by a rose, and hence these pieces are known as the Rose farthings, and are the last made under the patent, which was abolished during the interregnum.

Therefore the patent was first held by the Haringtons and then by Lord Lennox in the reign of James I., and first by the Duchess of Richmond and then by Lord Maltravers in the reign of Charles I., Sir Francis Crane being a partner first of the Duchess of Richmond and then of Lord Maltravers.

The years 1613-1636 can be divided into four periods, distinguished by the name of one of the patentees who held it at the time, and we thus have the "Harington," the "Lennox," the "Richmond," and the "Maltravers" periods; and it will be my endeavour to assign the various farthings to these respective periods.

The Harington period was only short—probably not more than

thirteen months, according to Mr. Vaux, though he, unfortunately, does not give his authority ; but other evidence points to corroboration of this term. Snelling says that at the time the patent was first granted to Lord Harington, the Duke of Lennox was very anxious to get it from him, but that Gerard Malynes persuaded him not to part with it. At first the patent did not prove a remunerative scheme, for only £600 worth of the tokens were dispersed in six months, and that with great difficulty. If at the death of Lord Harington the Duke of Lennox again offered to purchase it, we can well understand why Lady Harington parted with it, for she had been left with debts of £40,000 by her husband and wanted money ; moreover, this scheme, which had not been successful in the hands of a powerful courtier, was less likely to be so in hers.

The Lennox period extended from 1614 to 1625. It should have ended in January, 1624, at the death of Lord Lennox, but as no change was made in the style of the farthing tokens until after March, 1625, when King James died and his name was replaced by that of Charles, it is convenient to regard the Lennox period as lasting until the latter date.

The Richmond period is to be looked upon as lasting from 1625 (when the patent was confirmed to the Duchess of Richmond and Sir Francis Crane) until 1634, when the change was made by the authority of the king of adding an inner circle to the design of the farthing tokens, from which fact the new pieces were known as "double rings."

The Maltravers period is only to be looked upon as commencing with the introduction of the double rings, and ending in 1636 when the "rose farthings" were introduced.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

There is a very large number of the Royal farthing tokens, representing many variations. They vary in shape, size and weight, in the design and the inscription, and lastly in the mint-mark. Many of the "rose farthings" also vary in the metal of which they are made, for some have a small piece of brass introduced into the copper ; but the "rose farthings" are so different in every way from the earlier tokens

that they must be treated separately, and are not referred to in the present description.

Shape, size and weight.

Two shapes of the tokens are found. A comparatively small number are oval; but by far the larger number are round. Of the round tokens there are two distinct sizes, a few being much smaller than others. The smaller measure about $\frac{5.0}{100}$ of an inch across, the larger vary from $\frac{5.8}{100}$ to $\frac{6.8}{100}$ of an inch. The average weight of the smaller tokens is a little over $5\frac{1}{2}$ grains; the average weight of the larger is over $8\frac{1}{2}$ grains. The oval tokens measure about $\frac{7.0}{100}$ of an inch in the long diameter, and about $\frac{6.5}{100}$ of an inch in the short, but they vary much in size. Their weight is generally about 9 grains.

Design and Legend.

The design of the obverse of both the round and oval tokens is that of the crown and crossed sceptres. In the round the sceptres cross to form a saltire. In the oval the ends of the cross are nearer together above and below than they are at the sides. The two sceptres are apparently to typify the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, as Ireland is represented by the crowned harp on the reverse. The claim of the English kings to the kingship of France, although made in the inscription, is not referred to in the design. At a later date, a pattern for a farthing was made in the reign of Charles II., which has on the reverse a design of four interlaced sceptres, and in this case France is probably referred to. There are two forms of the crown. In one the arches are segments of a circle, or slightly pointed in the centre; in the other, the arches are flattened or depressed in the centre to receive the mound which surmounts the whole. The former is the imperial crown, and is as now displayed in the arms of King Edward. The latter is the monarchical crown, and was usually borne in Queen Victoria's coat-of-arms. Both these forms may either be single or double arched, and all four different varieties are found on the Royal farthing tokens.

The crowned harp on the reverse presents several varieties, and

these may be divided into two groups : one, in which the front pillar of the harp is of some conventional design ; the other, in which the pillar has a bird's head, apparently intended for that of an eagle. The number of the strings in the harp is usually six or seven, but whilst some harps have eight, one has only four, and it occasionally happens that coins of the same variety differ from one another in having a varying number of strings. In some coins a dot or pellet occurs in the centre of the harp among the strings. Although this is found in a fairly large number of instances, it is not always found in coins of the same variety. I think the pellet is caused by the graver having made a small depression in the centre of the die from which to turn a circle, in order that his lettering should be symmetrical. There is no pellet on the obverse, but there the graver was able to use the central point of the crown, which would already be a depression in the die.

The legend or inscription is the title, in Latin, of the king reigning at the time, the words being contracted so that the whole of the kingly titles might be placed on the coin. The legend commences on the obverse and is completed on the reverse. The disposition of the words is not always the same, three different ways of placing the legend being found. In some coins, including all the small round tokens, the inscription commences above, between the sceptres. In the larger round tokens the inscription commences above, to the right, and in the oval tokens the inscription on both obverse and reverse commences below, to the left. There are three methods employed to mark the contraction of the words of In some, the punctuation is by a single dot, in others two dots the form of a colon are used, and in others, again, an apostrophe over a dot marks the contraction. Later on it will be shown that by means of the differences in the forms of the contraction marks, we can form some idea of the relative dates of many of the coins.

Mint-marks.

The mint-marks on these tokens are exceedingly numerous and very diverse in character. They usually consist of some well-known

heraldic device, but in some cases it is not at all easy to say what particular object is intended to be represented, and in many cases there is no doubt that the same mint-mark will be given different names by different authorities. One mint-mark—the fret or Harington knot—which is found on all the small round tokens, must necessarily refer to the original holders of the patent. In the list of mint-marks given by Hawkins as being in use on the silver money of James, I find that all but two,—the escallop and the book—are found on the farthing tokens of that reign, the silver mint-marks forming about a third of the total number of copper mint-marks used. In the year 1613, the first year of the patent, the mint-marks on the silver coins were a trefoil and a cinquefoil, and in the small group of farthing tokens, which I believe were the coins made in the Harington period, that is, in the years 1613 and 1614, the mint-marks are a trefoil, a cinquefoil, a lys, a mullet, a saltire and a martlet. We, therefore, have two mint-marks, the trefoil and cinquefoil on the silver and copper of the same date. All the mint-marks on the silver issues of Charles I. used down to the year 1636, except one only—that of the anchor—also appear on the copper farthing tokens. In the year 1631 the mint-mark on the silver money was a rose, and I think that I shall be able to show that a farthing token was coined with mint-mark, a rose, about that date. In the years 1632, 1633 and 1634, the silver mint-marks were a harp, a portcullis, and a bell, and the “double ring” farthings, which are known to have been coined in the years 1634, 1635 and 1636, have as mint-marks these three devices. As there are only eight devices known on these pieces, a very large proportion are identical with the silver mint-marks of about the same date.

It would seem that the silver mint-marks suggested some of the copper mint-marks, and as more mint-marks were required for the copper coinage, other additional devices had to be chosen. The mint-mark is usually placed on the obverse. In one case it is on the reverse only, and in a few instances it is both on the obverse and reverse.

Classification.

After the above general description of the Royal farthing tokens, the next step is to assign the different coins to the respective periods to which they belong, and on attempting to do so, it is at once obvious that for whatever purpose they were made, the oval tokens belong to a different category from the round. We may, therefore, put them on one side for the time being, to be considered later, and deal only with the round.

Of the farthing tokens of James's reign, we find that they are easily divisible into two groups, differing in every detail of the design, and also differing in the way the words of the inscription are placed. In one group the word **IACO** is always between the sceptres, above the crown, which is of the single-arched imperial type, with but a single exception, in which it is of the double-arched monarchical form. The harp on the reverse is always that without the eagle's head. In the other, the inscription begins above, at the right, the crown is a single-arched monarchical crown, and the harp, except in two instances, has the eagle's head.

If we may assume that the two groups were not coined simultaneously, which it seems to me we may fairly do, then we have two entirely different groups of coins, and we have two periods in which the patent was held by two different families. We may, therefore, infer that one group was coined for the Haringtons and the other for the Duke of Lennox. One of these groups is much smaller than the other, that is, there are fewer mint-marks represented on the coins of the group. There are only seven mint-marks found in that group in which the word **IACO** is placed between the sceptres, and all are comparatively uncommon; whereas the mint-marks of the other group, viz., that group in which **IACO** is to the right of the crown, are much more numerous, for at least thirty occur. We may, therefore, infer that the coins of the first group were only used during a short period, and that the coins of the second group were used during a longer period. As the Harington period was of short duration, hardly more than a year, and that of the Duke of Lennox

a much longer period, extending to ten years, it is natural to infer that the small group with **IACO** between the sceptres was coined for the Haringtons, and that the larger group with **IACO** to the right of the crown was coined for the Duke of Lennox. In addition, the mint-marks offer the same indication. In the first group we have the mint-mark, the fret or Harington knot, a natural device as long as the Haringtons were coining under the patent; and in this group there are also the mint-marks, a trefoil and a cinquefoil, the silver mint-marks of the very year of the granting of the patent to Lord Harington. That the farthings of the second group were coined during the Lennox or later period of James's reign, we can be quite sure, as they are so very similar to the earlier farthings of Charles's reign, the chief difference between them being the substitution of **CARO** for **IACO** in the legend. Indeed, some of the tokens coined in the early part of Charles's reign show that at first the dies for the coins of the previous reign were retained and the letters **C** and **R** were punched in over the **I** and **C** of **IACO** to make **CARO**.

The alteration of style from the Harington farthings to the Lennox farthings may perhaps be explained in the following way. Gerard Malynes claims to have been the inventor of the farthing tokens, and he certainly was very largely interested in them; also it was, doubtless, through him that at least two others of the Malynes family were engaged in the making of the tokens. When Lord Lennox first proposed to purchase the patent from Lord Harington, the chief opposition to its transference came from Gerard Malynes, as he would thereby lose any benefit to be derived from it. The first dies for the tokens were sunk by the Malynes family, and when Lady Harington parted with the patent, it is not likely that the Malynes family would willingly turn over their dies. They would not be willing to assist in a scheme which could only be to their own detriment. When the Duke of Lennox obtained the patent he employed his own contractors, Thomas Woodward and Edward Garrett, and if the Malynes family did not surrender their dies, new sets would have to be sunk by different gravers, and so an opportunity would arise of having dies distinct from the Harington dies.

The first farthings issued in Charles's reign during the Richmond period are very similar to those of the Lennox period, **CARO** being substituted for **IACO**. During this period counterfeiting became very general, and counterfeits were even made abroad and imported into England in large quantities. These counterfeits were so much like the true farthing tokens, or, at least, said to be so, that the patentees complained that they could not distinguish them from their own, and here it may be remarked that, doubtless, many of the better-made forgeries are now indistinguishable from the genuine pieces, and to attempt to separate them would seem to be hopeless, and they will continue to be retained in our cabinets.

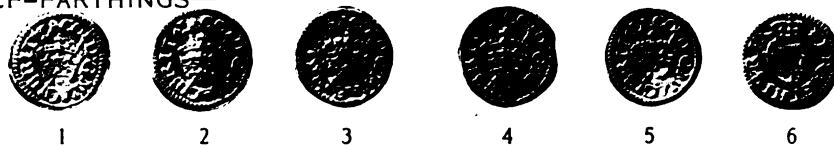
In 1634, at a time when Lord Maltravers had a share in the patent, the patentees were allowed to decry all the old farthings, and a new farthing of better make was introduced, distinguishable by an inner beaded circle, the so-called "double rings."

Having thus divided the farthing tokens into the four main groups to which they belong, we may proceed further and consider their sub-divisions, pointing out some of the more important features by which they are distinguished.

Harington.

The first group, or what we may now call Harington farthings, is divisible into two sub-groups, depending on the difference in size and weight of the pieces, for some are much smaller than others. Though these differ in size, there is no difference in the design of the obverse or reverse, and apparently the same master punch has been used in making the dies of both kinds. The lettering of the inscription is smaller and closer to the central design in the smaller coins, and so space has been gained to admit of the coins being made so small. These smaller coins have always the fret clouée, or Harington knot, as a mint-mark, and are the only pieces so marked. These small Harington tokens were thought by Snelling to be half-farthings, an opinion with which Montagu did not agree. He considered them to be an attempt on the part of the patentees to impose on the public

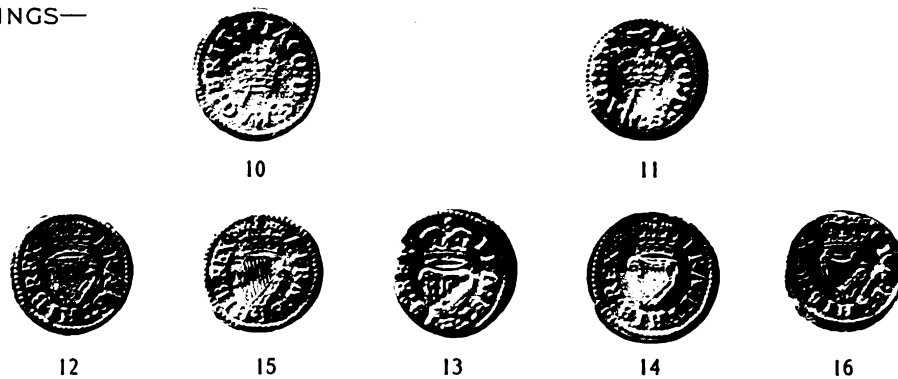
HARRINGTON HALF-FARTHINGS—



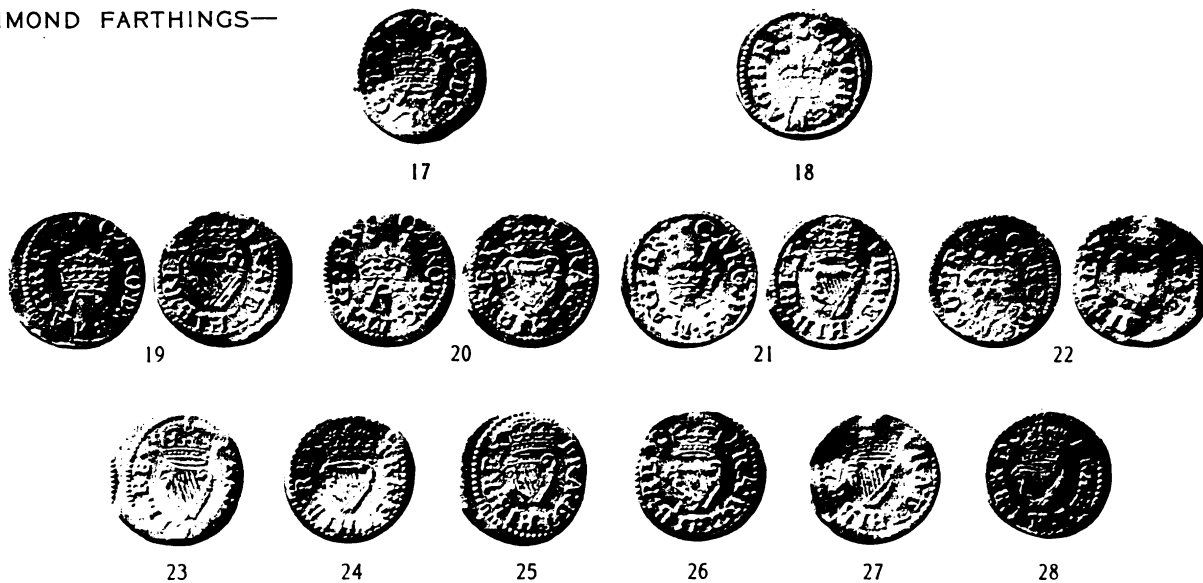
HARRINGTON FARTHINGS—



LENNOX FARTHINGS—



RICHMOND FARTHINGS—



MALTRAVERS FARTHINGS,
OR, "DOUBLE RINGS"—



ROYAL FARTHING TOKENS.
PART I., 1613-1636.

PL. I.

a token of lighter weight than the terms of the patent required, but his arguments were, I think, not very convincing even to himself, and he appears to have been quite willing to give consideration to the arguments against his own assertion.

Half-farthings, it is true, were not referred to in the patent granted to Lord Harington, though they had been in some of the proposals made to the king in previous years, and we should certainly expect them to have been mentioned if it had been intended to coin them under the Harington patent ; but there are several arguments against Montagu's assumption. They are so much smaller that the difference in size would attract the attention of anyone into whose possession they came. If the patentees had wanted to deceive the public they would have made them thinner and not smaller. The undoubted farthings of the Harington period average a good 9 grains in weight, and some issued in the Lennox period weigh as much as $12\frac{1}{2}$ grains, although the patentees were only obliged to make them of 6 grains, a sufficient proof that the patentees were more willing to increase the weight of them and so encourage their use, than to attempt to gain a few pence in a sovereign's worth of tokens. " The patentees had the greatest difficulty in dispersing their tokens, they were absolutely refused in some parts of the country, and where they were taken it was only in small quantities." Their unpopularity was instigated and encouraged by the smaller tradesmen, who were no longer to be allowed to profit by the issue of their own leaden tokens, the abuses in connection with which it had been the original object of the king to put down by the issue of the Royal tokens. It is extremely unlikely that the patentees would risk the diminution of their profits for so small a gain as the value of a grain or less of copper in each token ; their opponents would not be long in discovering such an attempted deception, and would use the fact as an additional, and very strong, argument against the use of the much-disliked Royal tokens. For the patentees to have given farthings of light weight was a crime and punishable, and we have no reason to believe them lawless men. Their offence against the State was much more serious and on a far greater scale, for by overcoining their miserable tokens and

forcing them on the public, all within the letter of the law, "they denuded the country of a sound gold and silver coinage." Many of these small pieces, and these pieces only, are coated with tin, which would distinguish them as half-farthings and prevent them from being taken by mistake as true farthings, which of itself is evidence against any attempt at deception. I prefer to follow Snelling and regard them as half-farthings, although not authorised by the patent.

HARINGTON HALF-FARTHINGS.

Obverse.—**IACO D G MAG BRIT** in small letters, a single-arched imperial crown through which pass two sceptres in saltire; all within a beaded circle.

Reverse.—**FRA ET HIB REX** in small letters, a harp crowned; the crown is single-arched and monarchical; the front pillar of the harp is sharply curved below and ends above without a bird's head; all within a beaded circle.

These pieces are only about half an inch in diameter and weigh about $5\frac{1}{2}$ grains. They are often found whitened by being tinned, the mint-mark is always the Harington knot, and precedes the legend on the reverse. A small letter or figure is often found between the sceptres below the crown A, B, C, D, E, F,—0, 1 and 2 are the only instances known. In some half-farthings there is a small mullet instead of the usual dot between the letters **D** and **G** in the legend of the obverse, and in some there is a small mullet, a lys, or a saltire instead of the usual stone in the centre of the circlet of the crown. One I have is counter-marked with a large trefoil; what this may mean, I do not know, but it is to be remembered that a trefoil is one of the mint-marks on the silver coinage of 1613, the date at which the half-farthings were probably coined.

Mint-mark.—Harington knot.

Copper.—Mullet between **D** **G**. Saltire in centre of circlet of crown.

"	"	"	Lys	"	"	"
Dot	between	D G .	Mullet	"	"	"
"	"	"	Countersunk, a trefoil.			

<i>Tinned.</i> —Mullet between DG.	A. between handles of sceptres.
" "	B. " "
" "	C. " "
" "	D. " "
" "	E. " "
" "	F. " "
" "	0. " "
" "	1. " "
" "	2. " "

I think most of the farthings with a letter or figure were originally tinned; when they are found not so it is probably due to erosion from the effects of damp and temperature.

HARINGTON FARTHING.

Obverse.—**IACO D G MAG BRIT** in large letters. A single-arched imperial crown through which pass two sceptres in saltire, all within a beaded circle (with one exception, mint-mark a martlet).

Reverse.—**FRA ET HIB REX** in large letters. A harp crowned, the front pillar of which is of a conventional design and has not a bird's head, all within a beaded circle (with one exception, mint-mark a martlet).

The Harington farthings vary in size from $\frac{5.8}{100}$ to $\frac{6.0}{100}$ of an inch. Their average weight is over 9 grains. The legend on the obverse begins above between the sceptres. The harp has usually seven strings, but in one variety it has eight. The mint-mark is on the reverse, to the right of the crown and precedes the legend. There are two varieties of the farthing, mint-mark a martlet. One is similar to those bearing all the other mint-marks, but the other differs in many respects. It is $\frac{6.2}{100}$ of an inch in diameter and weighs over 11 grains. It is of different style of design and workmanship from the other Harington farthings. The most marked difference is in the crown of the obverse, which is a double-arched monarchical crown and peculiar to this farthing; the crown on the reverse is a single-arched monarchical crown.

Mint-marks.

Trefoil.	Cinquefoil.	Fleur-de-lys.
Saltire.	Mullet.	Martlet.
Martlet with double-arched monarchical crown.		

VOL. III.

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LENNOX FARTHINGS.

Obverse.—**IACO D G MAG BRIT** or **BRI**. A single-arched monarchical crown through which pass two sceptres in saltire; all within a beaded circle.

Reverse.—**FRA ET HIB REX**. A harp crowned, the front pillar of which terminates in an eagle's head (there are two exceptions); all within a beaded circle.

The Lennox farthings vary in size from $\frac{60}{100}$ to $\frac{68}{100}$ of an inch in diameter, and in weight from $8\frac{1}{2}$ to $12\frac{1}{2}$ grains. The average weight is about 9 grains. There are two spellings of the last word of the legend on the obverse. In some cases it is spelt **BRIT**, in others **BRI**. The mint-marks of the **BRIT** type are more numerous. The meaning of this difference in spelling is not known, but it is probably not accidental. The same two spellings are found on the Richmond farthings, where mint-marks of the **BRIT** type are but few and the mint-marks of the **BRI** type are very numerous. From the facts it may be inferred :—

- (1) That both these types were coined in both periods.
- (2) That there are many of the **BRIT** type in the Lennox period, and
- (3) That although there are few in the Richmond period, they were, in fact, coined, as will be shown, down to the end of that period, and it would appear that both types were coined concurrently.

Type I. BRIT.—Farthings of this type may be divided into three sub-types according to the position of the mint-mark :—

- a. On the obverse.
 - b. On the reverse.
 - c. On the obverse and reverse.
- a. *Mint-mark on the obverse only.*

Annulet.
Lion passant.
Trefoil.

Eagle's head crased.
Thistle-head.
Sun.

Rose.
Woolpack.
Dagger.

Mascle.	Key.	Fusil.
Triangle and pellet.	Star.	Crescent.
Star.	Star pierced.	

These last three have a harp without the eagle's head.

b. Mint-mark on the reverse only.

Bell.

c. Mint-mark on the obverse and reverse.

Flower.	Fusil.	Rose.	Cross.
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Type II. BRI.—The mint-mark is on the obverse only.

Ball.	Three lys.	Triangle.
Dagger.	Stirrup.	Cross.
Lion rampant.	Trefoil.	Fusil.
Key.	Coronet.	

RICHMOND FARTHING.

Obverse.—**CARO D G MAG BRIT** or **BRI**. A crown through which pass two sceptres in saltire; all within a beaded circle.

Reverse.—**FRA ET HIB REX**. A harp crowned, the front pillar of which usually terminates in an eagle's head (there are two exceptions); all within a beaded circle.

With the exception of the alteration of the king's name, there is no great difference between the Lennox and the Richmond farthings. The former were coined for the Duke of Lennox, the latter were coined for his widow the Duchess of Richmond, and are a continuation of the Lennox farthings.

The Richmond farthings vary in size from $\frac{64}{100}$ to $\frac{68}{100}$ of an inch in diameter, and in weight from 5 to 10 grains. Their average weight is $8\frac{1}{2}$ grains, and they are therefore larger but lighter on the whole than the Lennox farthings. The mint-marks only occur on the obverse, and are very numerous.

On the Lennox farthings the contraction of the words of the legend is marked either by a single or a double dot. On the Richmond farthings a new form of punctuation was introduced, that of an apostrophe over a dot; and this form continued to be in use during the

Maltravers period, and through the period of the Rose farthings. The Richmond farthings having the single or double dot to mark the contraction would, therefore, appear to belong to the earlier part of the period, being like their predecessors; and those having an apostrophe over a dot to mark the contraction, will belong to the later part of the period, being like the Maltravers farthings or "double rings," which succeeded them.

The Richmond farthings, like the Lennox, are divided into two types in accordance with the difference in spelling of the last word of the legend of the obverse. There are very few of the **BRIT** type, and yet they were probably coined throughout the whole period. One of this type, mint-mark a masicle, has the **C** and **R** punched in over the **I** and **C** of **IACO** to form **CARO**, and would therefore have been coined about the time of the accession of Charles, at which time the Richmond period begins; it also has the earlier form of punctuation, that of the double dot. In another farthing of this type, mint-mark a rose, the punctuation is by the apostrophe over the dot, from which it would appear to have been coined towards the end of the period. The mint-mark rose is the silver mint-mark of the year 1631, and it is probable that is the proximate date of this particular farthing. From these facts it seems highly probable that farthings of the **BRIT** type, though few in number, were coined during the whole period. The farthing, mint-mark a rose, is peculiar in other ways, as the harp is without an eagle's head, and the front pillar is formed by a row of beads, being the only example of a headless harp in this type. It can hardly be a mere coincidence that there is a farthing of the **BRI** type which is so very similar that it has the same mint-mark, the same punctuation and the same shaped harp.

There are a great number of mint-marks of the **BRI** type, and, except for the difference in spelling, they are mostly very similar to the farthings of the **BRIT** type. In two **BRI** farthings the harp is without the eagle's head terminating the front pillar, as is generally found. In one case it is as the headless harp, mint-mark a rose, found in the **BRIT** type, and in the other the pillar is of a florid and conventional design. It also has mint-mark a rose.

There is a small group of the **BRI** type, on which I have only found two mint-marks, a harp and a cinquefoil, bearing a design quite different from all the other Richmond farthings. The crowns on both obverse and reverse are of the double-arched imperial form, whereas these on the other Richmond farthings are single-arched monarchical crowns. These two farthings are very like those of the next period, the Maltravers, and differ from them only in having no inner beaded circle and in having the Lennox-Richmond form of legend. The mint-mark, a harp, is a silver mint-mark of the year 1632, and is found on the Maltravers farthings of about that date. The two farthings would appear to mark a transitional stage between the Richmond farthings on the one hand, and the Maltravers farthings on the other.

*Type I. **BRIT.***

The mint-mark is on the obverse only.

Crescent and mullet. **CARO** changed from **IACO**.
 Mascle **CARO** changed from **IACO**.
 Mascle.
 Dagger.
 Rose.
 Cinquefoil.
 Annulet.
 Two Lys.
 Fusil.
 Cross.
 Sun.
 Triangle.

*Type II. **BRI.**—The mint-mark is on the obverse only.*

Mascle, altered from IACO .	Coronet.
Crescent and mullet, altered from IACO .	Cross patée.
Annulet and pellet.	„ patée fitchée.
Large annulet.	„ fleury.
Small annulet.	„ and two pellets.
Bell.	Large crescent with double dot punctuation.
Calvary.	Large crescent with apostrophe and dot punctuation.
Cinquefoil.	

Dagger.	Three lys.
„ with different harp.	Martlet.
Demi lys.	Nautilus.
Ermine.	Saltire.
Harp.	<i>Transitional type.</i>
Fish-hook.	Cinquefoil.
„ with D : G : G in legend.	Saltire fleury.
Fusil.	Shield.
Two fusils.	Star.
Flower.	Tower.
Gauntlet.	„ with different harp.
Harp.	Thistle-head.
Halberd, moon-shaped.	Woolpack.
„ square.	Rose with eagle's head-harp, and single or double dot punctuation.
Horseshoe.	Rose with eagle's head-harp, and apostrophe and dot punctuation.
Leaf.	Rose with beaded harp, and apos- trophe and dot punctuation.
Lion rampant.	Rose with florid harp, and apos- trophe and dot punctuation.
„ couchant.	
Large lys.	
Small lys.	
Two lys.	

Richmond farthings are sometimes found on square flans, and sometimes strips occur, the largest known having as many as nine impressions, side by side, forming a row. Therefore, in the making of the tokens, they were first struck on copper fillets, and then cut or punched out. The following is a description of a strip of nine. It is intact, and does not appear to have been cut off a longer strip. It is slightly curved from side to side, and though one edge is $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, the other is $6\frac{11}{16}$ inches. It is $\frac{77}{100}$ of an inch wide, and weighs 130 grains. On either side are nine impressions for a Richmond farthing of the **BRI** type bearing the headless harp and mint-mark, a rose, and as the punctuation of the legend is by means of the apostrophe and dot, it is one of the later farthings of the period, Plate II, Fig. 42. As all the strips that I have seen are similar to this, it is probably part of a stock of unfinished farthings which were in process of coining, and were not wanted because the "double rings" were to take their place.

On what may be called the obverse surface there are three pellets

arranged perpendicularly at either extreme end. So exactly similar are these two groups to one another that they must have been produced by the same means; midway between each impression there is a smaller pellet at the level of the centre of the coin. On the reverse surface there are no pellets at the ends, but there are very faint indications of pellets midway between the impressions. No two impressions of the farthings, either on the obverse or on the reverse, are alike. They are so different one from the other that each must have been produced by a different die. Suppose a copper fillet to be passed between two rollers under pressure, it would spread in all directions equally; that is, it would be lengthened and widened according to the amount of pressure. Now we have here a strip of copper which was possibly 6 inches long and $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch wide, and if it had under the pressure of the rollers become $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches long we should expect it to become $\frac{1}{48}$ of an inch more than the original $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch wide, and these are practically the dimensions it has assumed. If the pressure were unevenly disposed, so that there was more pressure at one end of the roller than at the other, we should find the fillet assume a curved shape, one edge being longer and thinner than the other, as we have in this strip. I think it may be safely assumed that these unfinished farthings were produced from copper fillets 6 inches long and $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch wide, and that the impressions on them were made by passing such a fillet between two rollers, on one of which were nine dies for the obverse, and on the other there were nine dies for the reverse. The groups of pellets at either end of the obverse surface are so exactly alike in shape, size and relative position, that there is no doubt that they were produced by the same sunken portions of the roller, and so mark a complete revolution of the roller die. Here I may remark that the late Mr. Hoblyn had in his collection a set of Harington half-farthings in the usual separated and finished form, on which appear the letters A B C D E F and the number 2, and that as the numbers 0 and 1 are known to exist, they form a series of nine distinguishing marks, which seem to corroborate the theory of the nine dies on the one roller.

As previously mentioned, the strip weighs 130 grains, and

50 strips of 130 grains would weigh 6,500 grains, that is, 500 grains less than one pound avoirdupois, and 54 such strips would weigh 7,020 grains or 20 grains more than a pound, but 50 strips of 140 grains would weigh exactly one pound avoirdupois. It would, therefore, seem very natural that the copper fillets were ordered to be 50 to the pound, and that this example was 10 grains light.

MALTRAVERS FARTHINGS.

Obverse.—**CAROLVS D : G : MAG : BRIT.** A double-arched imperial crown through which pass two sceptres in saltire. There are two beaded circles, one inside the legend and one surrounding the whole.

Reverse.—**FRAN : ET. HIB : REX.** A harp crowned. The crown is the double-arched imperial. The harp has an eagle's head. There are two beaded circles, one inside the inscription, the other surrounding the whole.

From a proclamation, dated 1634, authorising the issue of the "double ring," we find that Lord Maltravers and Sir Francis Crane were in possession of the patent at that date. When it passed out of the hands of the Duchess of Richmond is not known, but it is interesting to note that the Duchess and Lord Maltravers were both of them Howards, and that the latter had married the niece of the former.

So serious had the counterfeiting of the farthing tokens become, that the patentees were allowed to introduce a token slightly different in design. The general design continued in accordance with the terms of the original patent, but all the details were altered, and as a mark to distinguish the new issue, a second beaded circle was placed on the obverse and reverse, whence these farthings were known as "double rings."

The "double rings" vary in weight from 6 to 15 grains, their average weight being about 9 grains. They are about $\frac{6.8}{100}$ of inch in diameter. The sceptres on the obverse are short, and are wholly within the inner beaded circle. The inner beaded circle on the reverse is broken above to allow for the crown, which divides the beginning from the end of the legend. The harp is of a more florid design than those of the previous periods, and presents two distinct types. These

two types are both found with mint-mark, a bell, but with each different mint-mark there is a slight change in the harp. The harp may have from five to eight strings. The legend is changed by the King's name being given in full; **CAROLVS** and **FRAN** being used instead of **CARO** and **FRA** as previously. The method of punctuation is by the apostrophe and dot, and is similar to that of the later Richmond farthings. The mint-mark is generally on both the obverse and reverse, but I have one piece with mint-mark, a rose, on the obverse only; and Montagu¹ gives an instance, and Dr. Philip Nelson² records two others. The mint-mark may be the same on both sides, but in many cases there are different mint-marks on the two sides. Besides the mint-mark, a dot is often used as a distinguishing mark—it may precede **CAROLVS** on the obverse, the word **FRAN** on the reverse, or the mint-mark on the reverse may be followed by it. In some cases the dot, as described, is absent; in others, one, two, or all three dots are found. This system of using the dot in connection with the mint-mark was further elaborated in the period of the rose farthing.

VARIETIES OF THE MALTRAVERS FARTHING.

Mint-mark the same on obverse and reverse.			Mint-mark different on the obverse and reverse.			Mint-mark on obverse only.	
			<i>Obverse.</i>		<i>Reverse.</i>		
Large lys	Harp	...	Billet	...	Rose.
Small lys	"	...	Bell...	...	Woolpack ¹ .
Bell	"	...	Woolpack ¹	...	Harp ² .
Rose	Woolpack	...	Portcullis	...	Fleur-de-lys ² .
Woolpack	"	...	Rose ¹	...	—
Harp	Fleur-de-lys	...	Portcullis	...	—
Martlet	Fret	...	Fleur-de-lys ¹	...	—
Cross ¹	Martlet	...	Bell ¹	...	—
Eye ²	Portcullis	...	Woolpack ²	...	—
Nautilus ²	Bell ..	...	Cross	...	—
Shield ²	—		—		—

¹ *The copper, tin and bronze coinage*, by H. Montagu, F.S.A.

² *The coinage of Ireland in copper, tin and pewter*, by Philip Nelson, M.D., *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. i.

As I have not seen all of the above pieces, I have indicated by references the authorities for some of them, namely, the late Mr. Montagu and Dr. Philip Nelson.

OVAL FARTHING TOKENS.

It is not known for what purpose the oval tokens were coined. They are approximately of the same weight as the round, but differ from them in the design and in the disposition of the words of the legend, as well as in their shape. They are comparatively rare, and present but few varieties. They were coined in James's reign, and at the end of that reign, as is shown by some of the dies being again used for the coining of tokens in Charles's reign, the word **IACO** was altered into **CARO** by punching the letters **C** and **R** over the letters **I** and **C** of **IACO**; the same change as that made in some of the dies for the round tokens. This alteration of the dies also shows that they were coined at the beginning of Charles's reign, and, as will be presently demonstrated, they were being coined after the year 1634. They were, therefore, coined throughout the period 1624–1634. During these years there were considerably over seventy mint-marks on the round tokens, but there are not more than ten mint-marks on the oval tokens, and specimens of the oval tokens are considerably rarer than specimens of the round tokens. It is, therefore, to be inferred that they were issued in much smaller quantities than the round, which were being coined concurrently.

How is the fact of this concurrent issue of the two descriptions of tokens to be explained? I shall later suggest an explanation, but, meanwhile, offer the following considerations :—In the first place, they would not be intended to be used in common with the round tokens; for the difficulty of forcing these farthing tokens upon the people would have been increased had there been two different descriptions in use at the same time and place, and the occasional oval piece would, when met with, have been rejected as a forgery.

Secondly, if they were not intended to be in use at the same time

LENNOX OVAL—



RICHMOND OVALS—



MALTRAVERS OVAL—



STRIP OF NINE IMPRESSIONS FOR A RICHMOND FARTHING—



ROYAL FARTHING TOKENS.
PART I., 1613-1636.

PL. II.

and in the same place with the round tokens, they cannot have been intended for use in England at all.

Lastly, they were not intended for use in Scotland, for the Scots of that time would on no account permit English interference in their coinage.

My suggested explanation is that they were coined for use in Ireland. The Harington patent had made the farthing tokens current in that country from the time it was granted in 1613. But even if any serious endeavour had been made to introduce them, it had been unsuccessful; for long after that date traders' tokens were in such extensive use, and the cause of so many abuses, that it became necessary to entirely prohibit them, and a further proclamation, dated the 25th of September, 1622, was issued, establishing the Royal farthing tokens "upon such conditions as they were current in England."

There is only one mint-mark on the oval tokens of James's reign, and that same die was, as already mentioned, used in Charles's reign also, hence the oval tokens must have been first coined towards the end of James's reign; that is somewhere about 1622. If this be so, then they were first coined at about the time a special effort was being made to introduce the Royal farthing tokens into Ireland.

The object of the patentees was to make as much money as possible by the dispersal of their tokens; they would, therefore, prefer that those made for Ireland should remain there, and not be sent back to England and so interfere with the dispersal of the English tokens. Irish money was of a lower standard of fineness than that of England, and was not current in this kingdom; if the patentees could discredit their own copper tokens, made for Ireland, in their other market, that of England, there would be no interchange between the countries, and they would be able to fill Ireland as full of tokens as they had already filled England. The patent did not allow of any alteration in the design, but it contained nothing against an alteration of the shape. Thus, by making the Irish coins oval, they could be very easily distinguished. That it was possible to distinguish the Irish from the English tokens is indicated in the indenture between the Duchess of

Richmond and Edward Garrett—the subject of Mr. Vaux's paper already mentioned—for in that indenture special reference is made to Irish tokens of the value of £160.

Lastly, the design of the obverse gives evidence of the oval tokens having been coined for Ireland. The design of the obverse of the round tokens is always a diadem, through which pass two sceptres in saltire, but on the oval tokens the crossed sceptres are not in saltire, the ends of the cross formed by them being nearer together above and below than they are at the sides, and this form of the crossed sceptres is found on other Irish, but never on English coins.

We have now to assign the various oval tokens to their respective periods.

There are no oval tokens in any way like the Harington farthings, and we should not expect to find any Harington ovals. The Harington period was but short, and during it the scheme had not developed sufficiently to enable the patentees to turn their attention to Ireland.

All the oval tokens of James's reign are similar in design to the round Lennox farthings and may, therefore, be looked upon as Lennox ovals.

All the oval tokens similar in design to the round Richmond farthings may be looked upon as Richmond ovals.

Lastly, there is one oval so similar in design and in the various peculiarities of the "double rings," or Maltravers farthings, that it must have been coined at the same date as they were, and is, therefore, a Maltravers oval.

THE LENNOX OVAL FARTHING.

Obverse.—**IACO D G MAG BRI.** A monarchical crown, through which pass two crossed sceptres; all within a beaded oval.

Reverse.—**FRA ET HIB REX.** A harp crowned, the front pillar of which has an eagle's head; all within a beaded oval.

The sceptres on the obverse reach up to the legend above; they are a little longer below and divide the beginning from the end of the legend, reaching almost to the beaded oval. The mint-mark is a cross

and pellet, and is placed on both obverse and reverse. On the obverse the cross immediately precedes the legend, and the pellet is between the sceptres. The harp on the reverse reaches almost to the beaded oval below, dividing the beginning from the end of the legend. The mint-mark is also a cross and pellet and immediately follows the legend. The legend on this, as on all the oval tokens, begins below at the left on both sides.

RICHMOND OVAL FARTHING.

Obverse.—**CARO D G MAG** or **MA BRI, BR** or **BRIT**. A monarchical crown through which pass two crossed sceptres ; all within a beaded oval.

Reverse.—**FRA ET HIB REX**. A harp crowned, the front pillar of which has an eagle's head, or is of some conventional design ; all within a beaded oval.

The Richmond ovals are very similar in design to the Lennox oval, and some of them are from the Lennox dies. The most remarkable distinction about them is the differences in the spelling of the words of the legend on the obverse, and by means of this spelling we can divide them into four types.

In type 1 it is **CARO D G MAG RRI**.

„ „ 2 „ „ „ „ **MAG BR**

„ „ 3 „ „ „ „ **MA BRI**

„ „ 4 „ „ „ „ **MA BRIT**

What the meaning is of these differences of spelling is hard to surmise, but it is to be noted that the same mint-mark, that of a cross and pellet, is found in all four types, and in each case the die is one in which **IACO** has been changed to **CARO**. The mint-mark of type 1, on which the legend is spelt **MAG BRI**, is placed (*a*) on both obverse and reverse, (*b*) on the obverse only, (*c*) on the reverse only, and (*d*) a different mint-mark on the obverse from that on the reverse. In this type we therefore have four sub-types. The mint-mark of types 2, 3, and 4 is on the obverse only. The harp on the oval farthings is generally that with an eagle's head, but the harp on the farthings, mint-mark a rose, on the obverse only, and mint-mark a rose on the obverse

and a rose and pellet on the reverse, is of a florid and conventional design, similar to that on a round Richmond farthing, also with mint-mark a rose. As all the farthings with mint-mark a cross and pellet—and they include all the four types,—have been changed from **IACO**, it is not impossible that these different spellings may eventually be found among the Lennox ovals.

MALTRAVERS OVAL FARTHING.

Obverse.—**COROLVS D G MAG BRI.** A double-arched imperial crown, through which pass two crossed sceptres; all within a beaded oval.

Reverse.—**FRAN ET HIB REX.** A harp crowned, the front pillar of which is of a conventional design; all within a beaded oval.

The Maltravers oval is the largest of all the ovals, but is only 9 grains in weight. The crown of the obverse is a double-arched imperial crown of the same form as that on the round Maltravers farthings or “double rings.” The sceptres are long and reach nearly to the letters of the legend above; they pass between the first and last word of the legend below, and between the handles of the sceptres is the mint-mark, which is always a fleur-de-lys. The mint-mark is also placed on the reverse, is at the end of the legend, and is followed by a dot or pellet. The Maltravers oval farthing is like the Maltravers round farthing in the spelling of the legend, the use of the apostrophe over a dot to mark the contraction of the words of the legend, in the shape of the double-arched imperial crown of the obverse and reverse, and in the form of the harp.

VARIETIES OF THE OVAL TOKENS.

Lennox.

Cross and pellet on obverse and reverse.

*Richmond.**Type I. MAG BRI*

<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Mint-mark on obverse and reverse.	Mint-mark ' on obverse only.	Mint-mark on reverse only.	Different mint-mark on obverse and reverse.
Cross and pellet.	Demi lys.	Martlet.	Rose and scroll.
9	Rose.	Mill-rind.	Crescent and crescent and pellet.
			Rose and rose and pellet.

Type II. MAG BR

Cross and pellet on obverse only.

Type III. MA BRI

Cross and pellet on obverse only.

Type IV. MA BRIT

Cross and pellet on obverse only.

Maltravers.

Fleur-de-lys on obverse and fleur-de-lys and pellet on reverse.

BIOGRAPHIES.

Harington, John, first Lord Harington of Exton (d. 1613), was the eldest son of Sir James Harington, Knight of Exton Hall, Rutlandshire, by Lucy, daughter of Sir William Sidney, and a cousin of Sir John Harington the writer (1561–1612). His younger brother, Sir James Harington, was grandfather of James Harrington or Harington, the author of *Oceana*. His descent, in the female line, from the Bruces first brought him under the notice of James I. He entertained the King at Burley-on-the-Hill, Rutlandshire, on the royal progress from Scotland (April, 1603), and (in June) received Princess Elizabeth for a few days at Combe Abbey, near Coventry, Warwickshire, Lady Harington's inheritance. At the coronation (21st July, 1603) Harington was created Baron Harington of Exton, an honour which gave great offence to the Catholics. By privy-seal order dated 19th October, 1603, he received the charge of the Princess Elizabeth with an annual pension of £1,500 (afterwards increased to £2,000) for her diet, a sum which proved inadequate. Harington established Elizabeth with his wife and family at Combe Abbey, and retired from Parliament and public life in order to devote himself wholly to her. He was present at the creation of Henry as Prince of Wales, and in 1605 attended the king at Oxford. The conspirators of the gun-powder plot planned to abduct Elizabeth and proclaim her queen, but Harington escaped with his charge to Coventry (7th November, 1605) two hours before the rebels arrived. Here he left her to be guarded by the citizens, while he and Sir Fulke Greville besieged Catesby at Holbeach. On 6th January, 1606, he writes from Combe to his cousin Sir John, that he has not recovered from the fever caused by these disturbances when he was "out five days in peril of death and fear for the great charge I left at home" (*Nugæ Antiquæ*, I, 370). In 1608, Elizabeth was given an establishment of her own at Kew, the Haringtons receiving the first places in her household. Her guardian continued to control her movements and expenditure, and had to buy her bridal trousseau and arrange the expenses of her wedding. On 13th February, 1613, he preceded the princess in the wedding procession to Whitehall, and

received a gift of plate, valued at £2,000, from the Prince-palatine in recognition of his services. By the Princess's extravagances, her current expenses for one year alone (1612-1613) had involved Harington £3,500 in debt, and he was reduced to beg a royal patent (granted May, 1613) for the sole privilege of coining brass farthings for three years, "a thing that brought with it some discredit though lawful" (*Somers Tracts*, II, 294). The coins were called "Haringtons."

Lord and Lady Harington escorted the royal couple abroad (April, 1613), he being deputed to settle the Princess's jointure. Though Harington was made a Royal Commissioner and given the title of Ambassador, none of the expenses of this journey were paid, and his money difficulties increased. At Heidelberg the Haringtons remained four months in Elizabeth's household, Harington having to arrange her money affairs and to arbitrate in quarrels among her attendants. Worn out by these cares, he died of fever at Worms (23rd August, 1613)¹ on his journey home. (See *Dictionary of National Biography*.)

John, second Lord Harington of Exton (1592-1614), the surviving son of John Harington, first Lord, was born at Combe Abbey near Coventry, Warwickshire, in April, 1592. He succeeded to his father's title and a heritage of debts in August, 1613,¹ and he vainly attempted to retrieve the family fortunes. He died at Kew on 27th February, 1613-14,¹ and was buried at Exton. On 18th February he had sold the lordship of Exton to Sir Braxton Hicks, and by his will, made at the same time, left the overplus of the estates, after the creditors had been paid, (according to his mother, the debts amounted to £40,000), to his two sisters, two-thirds to the Countess of Bedford and one-third to Lady Chichester. The Countess of Bedford eventually sold the remaining family estates in Rutlandshire. (See *Dictionary of National Biography*.)

Malynes, Malines or de Malines, Gerard (fl. 1586-1641), merchant and economic writer, states that his "ancestors and parents" were born in Lancashire (*Lex Mercatoria*, 1622, p. 263).

¹ There is some uncertainty as to these dates. Compare pages 182 and 211.

His father, a mint master (*ib.*, p. 281), probably emigrated about 1552 to Antwerp, where Gerard was born, and returned to England at the time of the restoration of the currency (1561), when Elizabeth obtained the assistance of skilled workmen from Flanders. Gerard was appointed (about 1586) one of the Commissioners of Trade in the Low Countries "for settling the value of monies" (*Oldys*, p. 96), but he was in England in 1587, for in that year he purchased from Sir Francis Drake some of the pearls which Drake brought from Carthage. Malynes is probably identical with "Garet de Malines," who subscribed £200 to the loan levied by Elizabeth in 1588, on the City of London (*J. S. Burn*, p. 11). He was frequently consulted on mercantile affairs by the Privy Council during her reign and that of James I. In 1600 he was appointed one of the commissioners for establishing the true par of exchange, and he gave evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons on the Merchants' Assurance Bill (November and December, 1601). While the Act for the True Making of Woollen Cloth (4 Jac. I, C. 2) was passing through Parliament, he prepared for the Privy Council a report showing the weight, length, and breadth of all kinds of cloth.

During the reign of James I., Malynes took part in many schemes for developing the natural resources of the country. Among them was an attempt to work lead mines in Yorkshire and silver mines in Durham, in 1606, when, at his own charge, he brought workmen from Germany. He was joined by Lord Eure and some London merchants, but the undertaking failed, although "his action was applauded by a great person then in authority and now [1622] deceased, who promised all the favour he could do" (*Lex Mercatoria*, p. 262). The object of these schemes was probably to make England independent of a foreign supply of the precious metals. Monetary questions were, indeed, his chief care. He was an assay master of the mint (*ib.*, p. 281). In 1609, he was a commissioner on mint matters along with Thomas Lord Knyvet, Sir Richard Martin, John Williams, the king's goldsmith, and others. Shortly afterwards he engaged in a scheme for supplying a deficiency in the currency of coins of small value, by the issue of farthing tokens.

Private traders had, for some years, infringed the royal prerogative by striking farthing tokens in lead. A "modest proposal," which seems to have been inspired by Malynes, was put forth in 1612 to remedy this evil. The scheme was adopted, and John, first Lord Harington, obtained the patent for supplying the new coins (10th April, 1613), which he assigned to Malynes and William Cockayne in accordance with an agreement previously made with the former. Upon the withdrawal of Cockayne, who did not like the terms of the original grant, Malynes was joined by John Couchman. But from the first the contractors were unfortunate. The Duke of Lennox tried to obtain the patent from Lord Harington by offering better terms than Malynes. The new farthings, which were called "Haringtons," were unpopular. They were refused in Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Flint and Denbigh; and even in counties where they were accepted, the demand for them was so small that in six months the issue was less than £600. The death of Lord Harington in 1614 gave rise to new difficulties, the patent was infringed, and private traders continued to issue illegal coins. Malynes spared no pains to make the scheme successful, but the loss, resulting from its failure, fell chiefly upon him. In a petition which he addressed to the king from the Fleet Prison (16th February, 1619), he complained that he had been ruined by his employers, who insisted on paying him in his own farthings. But he appears to have surmounted these difficulties. In 1622, he gave evidence on the state of the coinage before the Standing Commission on Trade. Malynes was deeply impressed with the evils which the exactions of the usurers inflicted on the poorer classes. "The consideration hereof," he writes, "hath moved my soul with compassion and true commiseration, which implyeth a helping hand. For it is now twentie years that I have moved continually those that are in authoritie, and others that have beene, to be pleased to take some course to prevent this enormitie" (*ib.*, p. 339). Hopeless of success and "stricken in years," he had to content himself with publishing his last project. He proposed the adoption of a system of pawnbroking, and a *Mons Pietatis* under government control. In this way he hoped to enable poor people

to obtain loans at a moderate rate of interest. Malynes lived to a great age, for in 1622 he could appeal to his "fiftie yeares" observation, knowledge, and experience, and he addressed a petition to the House of Commons of 1641. (See *Dictionary of National Biography*.)

Stuart, Ludovick, second Duke of Lennox, and Duke of Richmond, 1574-1624, eldest son of Esmé, first Duke of Lennox, by his wife, Catherine de Balsac d'Entragues, was born on the 29th of September, 1574. After the death of the first duke in Paris on the 26th of May, 1583, the "King," says the author of the *History of James Sext*, "was without all quietness of spirit till he should see some of his posterity to possess him in his father's honours and rents" (p. 192). He therefore sent the Master of Gray to convoy the young Duke to Scotland, and they arrived at Leith on the 13th of November. He was received into the king's special favour, and, although a mere boy, was, as next in succession, selected to bear the crown at the next opening of Parliament on the 28th of May, 1584. On the 27th of July, 1588, he was appointed one of a commission for executing the laws against the Jesuits and Papists, and on the 1st of August he was named Chief Commissioner to keep watch in Dumbarton against the Spanish Armada. When King James left Scotland in October to bring home his bride from Denmark, Lennox, though only fifteen, was appointed President of the Council during his absence. By his marriage on the 20th of April, 1591, to Lady Jane Ruthven, daughter of the Earl of Gowrie, whom the previous day he took out of the castle of Wemyss, where she had been "warded at the King's command for his cause," he gave great offence to the King; but, nevertheless, on the 4th of August he was proclaimed Lord High Admiral in place of Bothwell. About May, 1593, he was reconciled with certain nobles with whom he was at feud, and was allowed to return to Court. On the accession of James to the English throne in 1603, he attended him on the journey south, and on the 18th of June he was naturalised in England, and in the same year he was also made a Gentleman of the Bedchamber and a Privy Councillor.

On the 6th of August, 1603, he had a grant of the manors of Settrington, Temple-Newsam, and Wensleydale, Yorkshire, and £600 a year. He also received a large portion of the Cobham estates upon the attainder of Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham. In 1604-5, he was ambassador to Paris, and in August, 1605, he accompanied the king to Oxford, where he was on the 31st of August made M.A. On the 21st of July, 1607, he was named High Commissioner of the King to the Scottish Parliament. On the 6th of October, 1613, he was created Baron Settrington in the county of York and Earl of Richmond. In 1614 he was named Deputy Earl Marshal, and in November, 1616, he was made Steward of the Household. In May, 1617, he accompanied the King on his visit to Scotland. He was named Lieutenant of Kent in November, 1620, and from May to July, 1621, was joint Commissioner of the Great Seal. On the 17th of August, 1623, he was created Earl of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Duke of Richmond. He died suddenly in bed in his lodging at Whitehall on the morning of the 16th February, 1623-4, the day fixed for the opening of Parliament, which, on that account, was deferred; and on the 19th of April his corpse was conveyed "with all magnificence from Ely House in the Holborn to interment in Westminster Abbey, where a magnificent tomb was erected in Henry VII.'s Chapel by the widow. "His death" (says Calderwood) "was dolorous both to English and Scottish. He was well liked of for his courtesy, meekness, liberality to his servants and followers." The Duke was thrice married, first to Sophia, third daughter of William Ruthven, first Earl of Gowrie; secondly, to Jane, widow of the Hon. Robert Montgomerie, and daughter of Sir Matthew Campbell, of London; and thirdly, to Frances, daughter of Thomas Howard, first Viscount Howard of Bindon, and widow of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford. She died on the 8th of October, 1639, and was buried in Westminster Abbey with her last husband. (See *Dictionary of National Biography*.)

Crane, Sir Francis (*d.* 1636), was the director of the tapestry works established at Mortlake under the patronage of James I. His

origin is generally assigned to Norfolk or Suffolk, but of his early history little is known. In April, 1606, he had a grant for life of the office of Clerk of the Parliament, and he was secretary to Charles I. when Prince of Wales, and during his secretaryship he was knighted at Coventry (4th September, 1617). C. S. Gilbert, in his *History of Cornwall*, asserts that Crane was a member of the family of that name seated at Crane, in Camborne; but this statement is unsupported by any authority. Nevertheless, he was intimately connected with that county. His eldest sister married William Bond of Erth, in Saltash, and his second sister married Gregory Arundel, and to the Arundels his estates ultimately passed. Through the influence of these connections, and through the support of the Prince of Wales as Duke of Cornwall, he was twice (1614, 1621) returned to Parliament for the Borough of Penryn and Launceston in 1624. In February, 1618, his name was dragged into the Lake scandal, as Lady Lake charged the Countess of Exeter with having been on the death of her first husband, Sir James Smith, contracted in marriage to Sir Francis Crane, and with paying him the sum of £4,000 in order that she might be freed from the bargain. Tapestry had been worked in England by fitful efforts for some time before 1619, but in that year a manufactory was established with the aid of the King in a house, built by Crane, on the north side of the High Street at Mortlake, with the sum of £2,000 given to him from the royal purse. James brought over a number of skilful tapestry workers from Flanders, and encouraged the enterprise with an annual grant of £1,000. The report spread about in August, 1619, that the privilege of making three baronets had been granted to Crane to aid him in his labours, and the rumour seems to have been justified by the fact. In June, 1623, it was rumoured that ten or twelve serjeants-at-law were to be made at the price of £500 apiece, and that Crane would probably receive the payment "to further his tapestry works and pay off some scores owed him by Buckingham." In the first year of his reign, Charles I. owed the sum of £6,000 for three suits of gold tapestry, and in satisfaction of the debt and "for better maintenance of the said worke of tapestries" a pension of £2,000 per annum was

granted for ten years. Grafton and several other manors were conveyed to Crane in February, 1628, as security for the sum of £7,500 advanced by him for the king's service, but the magnitude of the grant was hateful to his rival courtiers, and the transaction caused him much trouble, which, however, seems to have ended at last with his triumph. Stoke Park was granted to him in 1629, and there he built, after designs which he brought from Italy, a handsome house, afterwards visited by Charles I. As a further mark of royal favour he had a joint patent with Frances, Dowager Duchess of Richmond and Lennox, for the exclusive coinage and issue for seventeen years of farthing tokens. He suffered from stone in the bladder, and for the recovery of his health he went to Paris in March, 1636. Next month he underwent the usual operation, and at first it seemed successful, but "the wound grew to an ulcer and gangrene," and he died at Paris on 26th June, 1636. His body was brought to England and buried at Woodrising, in Norfolk, 10th July, 1636, a gravestone to his memory being placed in the chancel of the church. (See *Dictionary of National Biography*.)

Howard, Henry Frederick, Lord Maltravers, was the second son of Thomas, Earl of Arundel, to whose honours and titles he succeeded. He was born 15th August, 1608, and married in 1626 Lady Elizabeth Stuart, eldest daughter of Esmé, afterwards Duke of Lennox, succeeding his brother Ludovick (*q.v.*). (See *Dictionary of National Biography*.)

The patent for the farthing tokens passed at the death of the Duke of Lennox to Sir Francis Crane, who had a half share, to the Duchess of Richmond, who had a third share, and to Edward Garrett, who had a sixth share. The Duchess parted with her share to her relative, Lord Maltravers, who had married her niece, Lady Elizabeth Stuart.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE I.

Harington Half-Farthings.

1. Obverse, showing mullet between **D** and **G**, and trefoil in centre of coronet.
2. Obverse, with mullet between **D** and **G**, and saltire in centre of coronet.
3. Obverse, with dot between **D** and **G**, and mullet in centre of coronet.
4. Obverse, with letter **B** between the sceptres below the crown.
5. Obverse, counter-marked a trefoil.
6. Reverse, with mint-mark the fret clouée, or Harington knot.

Harington Farthings.

7. Obverse of usual type with single-arched imperial crown.
8. Reverse, with mint-mark a star
9. Mint-mark a martlet with double-arched monarchical crown on the obverse and single-arched monarchical crown on the reverse.

Lennox Farthings.

10. Type I. **BRIT**.
11. Type II. **BRI**.
12. Different types of eagle-headed harp.
13. " " "
14. " " "
15. Reverse, with mint-mark a bell.
16. Headless harp.

Richmond Farthings.

17. Type 1. **BRIT**. Mint-mark masle; **CARO** altered from **IACO**.
18. Type 2. **BRI**. Mint-mark crescent and star; **CARO** altered from **IACO**.
19. Mint-mark a rose, of **BRIT** type, with beaded front pillar of harp.
20. Mint-mark a rose, of **BRI** type, with beaded front pillar of harp.
21. Mint-mark a rose; florid conventional front pillar of harp.
22. Transitional type with double-arched imperial crown and harp similar to those of the "double rings."
23. Different types of eagle-headed harp.
24. " " "
25. " " "
26. " " "
27. " " "
28. " " "

Maltravers Farthings.

- 29. Obverse.
- 30. Reverse, type 1.
- 31. „ type 2.

PLATE II.—OVALS.

Lennox.

- 32. Obverse and reverse.

Richmond.

- 33. Type 1. **MAG BRI.**
- 34. „ 2. **MAG BR.**
- 35. „ 3. **MA BRI.**
- 36. „ 4. **MA BRIT.**
- 37. Type 1. *a.* Mint-mark the same on obverse and reverse.
- 38. „ *b.* Mint-mark on the obverse only.
- 39. „ *c.* Mint-mark a mill-rind on the reverse only.
- 40. „ *d.* Mint-mark, a rose and scroll, different on either side.

Maltravers.

- 41. Obverse and reverse.

Richmond.

- 42. Strip of nine impressions for a Richmond farthing.

A NOTE ON "ST. PATRICK'S PENCE."

BY WILLIAM SHARP OGDEN.

TOWARDS the close of the reign of King Charles II., and not later than the year 1680, the copper currency of Ireland was enriched or recruited by the rudely executed but picturesque addition of the halfpence and farthings, known as "St. Patrick's pence."

These coins, so far as their appearance and varieties are concerned, are fully described by Dr. Nelson in his paper on the "Copper, Tin and Pewter Coinage of Ireland," *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. i, pp. 184-186. With his careful reasoning and deduction, which enabled him to arrive at the date 1678 for their issue, I entirely concur; but as no attempt is made to elucidate either the remarkable character of their design, or the motive for their issue, I purpose in this note to offer a possible and perhaps not improbable explanation of both.

Shortly before, and at the time of the appearance of these coins, the kingdom was convulsed by fears, real or imaginary, of Catholic plots, to which the King, Charles II., was suspected of being a party. The Commons introduced a Bill for the exclusion from the succession of his brother the Duke of York, who publicly adhered to the old and unreformed religion; incompetency and misrule were general, and the mischief wrought by Titus Oates and similar miscreants brought about, as Lord Macaulay says, "a general impression that a great blow was about to be aimed at the Protestant religion."

The utility of issuing political tokens as pocket pieces or *quasi* money, was proved when the revolt of the Dutch Netherlands from Spanish domination resulted in their obtaining independence, for during the later years of the sixteenth and the earlier years of the seventeenth centuries, many pieces of this kind were issued from the Dutch mints. The designs in recording great events of the time served to keep alive

the memory of past wrongs and the heroic struggles that finally resulted in the freedom of the Netherlands.

These Dutch tokens are numerous even at the present day, and may well have suggested to Irish partisans that a species of halfpence, certain of circulation where the copper currency was limited, and bearing a novel and striking design flattering to the national pride, might in the hands of a lively and imaginative people be made the means of extensively propagating their secret political intentions. Especially would the object aimed at be attained if the design and inscription were capable of a double interpretation : the one harmless and loyal, the other, and the true meaning, one which any of their partisans would readily supply.

These halfpence¹ bear on the obverse a kingly figure kneeling, robed and wearing a celestial or radiate crown, and playing upon an Irish harp, over which is the British crown. This kneeling figure is generally called King David, and the inscription is FLOREAT:REX*. We have a precisely similar design, except for the Irish symbol of the harp, illustrating the *Eikon Basilike* and personifying King Charles I. The figure on the coin is undoubtedly taken from this engraving, which is a portrait of that Sovereign.² The legend *Floreat Rex* is the classical form of "God Bless the King."

The reverse of the coin represents St. Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland, robed, mitred and with a richly adorned crozier, his right hand holding a shamrock before the assembled people ; to his left is a shield bearing the arms of Dublin : the legend is ECCE G.REX, Behold the flock, or assembly." Another type of reverse shows St. Patrick with a patriarchal cross instead of the crozier, and the arms of Dublin are replaced by a cathedral, the saint being in the act of casting out the snakes and other reptiles, the most prominent being a large dragon. To this reverse the legend is QVIESCAT PLEBS, "Let the people be quiet." The words of the legends are divided in parts by the design

¹ There are several types or varieties of both halfpence and farthings.

² Illustrated, Plate II, Figs. 12-14, facing p. 180, *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. i.

³ Compare the illustrations to Miss Helen Farquhar's Paper, *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ii, pp. 266-269.

and also by stops, not always correctly placed. One in my collection has the word REX spelt REX, and another GREX. Attention is directed to the illustrations, Plate II, Figs. 12, 13, 14, of Dr. Nelson's paper published in *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. i.

I submit that the letters hitherto accepted as ECCE G.REX should be read ECCE C. REX="Behold King Charles," and that they directly refer to the kingly figure over which they are placed. The full-stop after the G, which will be noticed on Fig. 14, is significant of this construction. By reading the obverse and reverse legends continuously we obtain what I believe to be the intention, namely: "Behold King Charles, God Bless the King."

Objection should not be taken to reading G in G.REX as a C, inasmuch as on many of the Irish coins of this period the letters C and G show little distinction, and we have only to refer to the initial letter of *Carolus* in Fig. 17 of the same plate for an example of this.

It is not likely that much, if any, exception would be taken to a limited circulation of pieces loyally typifying the then late King Charles as the "Royal Martyr," with the patron saint breathing peace and tranquillity. For a short period they also passed current in the Isle of Man, and, as Dr. Nelson relates, a few years later they became legal currency in America.

I think, however, it is possible to show that the coins may have had another and less loyal, if more patriotic, meaning so far as Ireland and its ancient national Church were concerned. It will be noted that the Catholic Church is represented by St. Patrick, who is standing erect and dominant beside the church wearing, so far as can be ascertained from the details of the coin, the full Eucharistic vestments, notwithstanding the date of issue. The legend we may read as ECClesia Et GREX for "The Church and the people." The saint is expelling the reptiles from Ireland, chief among which appears a dragon. This is a heraldic badge of the Tudor dynasty, which in the persons of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth established the Protestant Church in Ireland. Thus St. Patrick, in driving out the dragon, clearly forecasts the intended destruction of the Church they had established.

The figure of the King, on the other hand, although nominally

intended to personify Charles I., as already evidenced by comparison with the illustrations in the *Eikon Basilike*, could for the then present political purposes, as readily represent his son Charles II., who in the year 1670 was credited with having bound himself by treaty with Louis XIV. of France, to restore the Catholic Faith, a procedure which his brother the Duke of York never ceased to urge upon him.

Heuce, I infer that these halfpence were really political pieces issued by the Catholic party, and probably with the connivance of the Duke of York ; the object being to advance its aims and familiarise the people with coming changes and the approaching restoration of the Catholic Church. The kneeling figure and legends may have been symbolical that only under it would the Crown flourish and the people rest in peace.

The coins are somewhat incorrectly described as "plugged with brass" ; this is a mistake. The crown over the kneeling figure of the King is stamped upon a very thin film of brass of irregular shape and size. This appears to have been dropped, in a molten state, upon the heated copper flan immediately before striking, for I have seen examples on which several minute spots of the same metal appear in other parts of the field of the coin ; but instances entirely of copper are not uncommon. It is just possible that this yellow metal may have been obtained from some national relic or consecrated source.

SOME NOTES ON THE GREAT RECOINAGE OF WILLIAM III., 1695-1699.

BY PHILIP NELSON, M.D.

WHILST engaged in research, among manuscripts of the period 1690-1730, I came across some notes on the great recoinage of William III., 1695-1699, evidently from the pen of an official in the employment of the mint.

As these details of the recoinage do not appear to have been previously published in any numismatic work, I venture to think that they may perchance prove of use at some future date to those interested in this period. This being the case, I have rescued these notes from oblivion and record them here, whilst in order to render this paper more complete, I have appended a few lines from Ruding's *Annals*.

THE MANUSCRIPT.

*Hammered Money Brought into the Mint in the Tower, to be coyn'd,
to the 3rd May, 1697.*

					Ounces.
The Publick money	...	...	...	...	2,939,133
The Private money	...	...	...	...	768,547
					<hr/>
					3,707,680

Hampered Money Brought into the Country Mints to be coyn'd.

1697.				Ounces.		Ounces.
28th Aprill ...	...	Bristol ...	{ The Publick Money The Private Money	571,177 287,393 }	...	858,570
30th „ ...	...	Exeter ...	{ The Publick Money The Private Money	277,469 442,778 }	...	720,247
1st May ...	...	Chester ...	{ The Publick Money The Private Money	427,559 342,348 }	...	769,907
1st „ ...	...	Yorke ...	{ The Publick Money The Private Money	346,656 189,447 }	...	536,103
1st „ ...	...	Norwich ...	{ The Publick Money The Private Money	243,573 205,577 }	...	449,150
						3,333,977

						Ounces.
The Publick Money of all the Country Mints	...	...	...	...	...	1,866,434
The Private Money	...	...	...	...	...	1,467,543
						3,333,977

*Hampered Money Brought into the Mint in the Tower to be coyn'd,
to the 2nd of August, 1697.*

						Ounces.
The Publick Money	...	...	...	...	...	5,305,612
The Private Money	...	...	...	...	...	818,742
						6,124,354

Hammered Money Brought into the Country Mints, to be coyn'd.

1697.				Ounces.		Ounces.
14th July ...	...	Norwich ...	{ The Publick Money The Private Money	537,684 249,307 }	...	786,991
31st „ ...	...	Bristol ...	{ The Publick Money The Private Money	986,373 423,512 }	...	1,409,885
31st „ ...	...	Chester ...	{ The Publick Money The Private Money	398,052 303,680 }	...	701,732
2nd August ...	...	Exeter ...	{ The Publick Money The Private Money	656,632 580,201 }	...	1,236,833
2nd „ ...	...	Yorke ...	{ The Publick Money The Private Money	681,192 232,972 }	...	914,164
						<hr/> 5,049,605

The Publick Money, of all the Country Mints ...	...	...	...	3,259,933
The Private Money ...	...	...	...	1,789,672
				<hr/> 5,049,605

*An Account of all the New Money coyn'd in the Several Country Mints
to the dayes following.*

1697.					£	s.	d.
28th Aprill ...	...	Bristol ...	...	...	177,775	13	0
30th „ ...	...	Exeter ...	...	...	187,688	2	0
1st May ...	...	Yorke ...	...	...	130,099	0	0
1st „ ...	...	Chester ...	...	...	125,701	0	0
1st „ ...	...	Norwich ...	...	...	119,288	17	8
					<hr/> 740,552	12	8
							Q

VOL. III.

226 *Some Notes on the Great Recoinage of William III.*

An account of all the New Money coyn'd in the Several Mints following from the

	The whole of the clipt Money coyn'd in all ye Mints.	The whole of the hañner'd Money coyn'd in all ye Mints.
LONDON.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To 24th January, 1696.		
From Clipt Money	2,463,110 17 7	...
From Plate ... ..	...	...
From Ingotts ... ..	...	...
From 24th of January, 1696.		
From Hañnered Money ... ..	...	1,752,414 4 2
From Plate ... ..	...	...
From Ingotts ... ..	...	...
BRISTOL.		
From Clipt Money	40,617 11 0	...
From Hañnered Money ... ..	...	361,072 19 2
From Plate ... ..	...	...
From Ingotts ... ..	...	...
EXETER.		
From Clipt Money	46,753 7 9	...
From Hañnered Money ... ..	...	336,643 4 5
From Plate ... ..	...	...
From Ingotts ... ..	...	...
YORKE.		
From Clipt Money	53,987 13 6	...
From Hañnered Money ... ..	...	224,517 0 2
From Plate ... ..	...	...
From Ingotts ... ..	...	...
CHESTER.		
From Clipt Money	19,802 13 2	...
From Hañnered Money ... ..	...	249,206 3 9
From Plate ... ..	...	...
From Ingotts ... ..	...	...
NORWICH.		
From Clipt Money	40,468 12 2	...
From Hañnered Money ... ..	...	188,887 8 10
From Plate ... ..	...	...
From Ingotts ... ..	...	...
	2,664,740 15 2	3,112,741 0 6
	Whole Clipt Money Coyn'd.	Whole Hañnered Money Coyn'd.

Twenty-third day of January, 1695, to the twenty-sixth day of October, 1697.

The whole of the Plate coyn'd in all ye Mints.	The whole of the Ingotts coyn'd in all ye Mints.	The Whole New Money Coyn'd.
<p>£ s. d.</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>68,808 13 2</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>231,881 5 0</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>9,669 3 4</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>14,590 13 10</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>12,975 6 4</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>1,789 3 1</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>8,845 12 0</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>348,449 16 9</p> <p>Whole Plate Coyn'd.</p>	<p>£ s. d.</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>60,808 14 4</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>53,848 4 6</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>432 9 0</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>... ..</p> <p>115,089 7 10</p> <p>Whole Ingotts Coyn'd.</p>	<p>£ s. d.</p> <p>2,592,618 5 1</p> <p>2,038,143 13 8</p> <hr/> <p>4,630,761 18 9</p> <p>411,792 2 6</p> <p>397,987 6 0</p> <p>291,480 0 0</p> <p>270,798 0 0</p> <p>238,201 13 0</p> <hr/> <p>6,241,021 0 3</p> <p>Whole New Money Coyn'd.</p>

Q 2

EXTRACTS FROM RUDING, VOL. II, p. 57.

In the year 1699, the great recoinage of silver was completed ; the amount coined totalled £6,882,908 19s. 7d.

	£	s.	d.
Of which were coined in the Tower ...	5,091,121	7	7
In the country mints	1,791,787	12	0
	<hr/>		
	£6,882,908 19 7		

The mint charges were £179,431 6s. 0d.

And the whole loss and charges are supposed to be not less than £2,777,777.

The total value of the silver coinage struck at the country mints was considered to have been as follows¹ :—

	£	s.	d.
Bristol	455,628	14	0
Chester	315,146	0	0
Exeter	456,617	12	0
Norwich	257,424	0	0
York	207,809	5	0
	<hr/>		
	£1,692,625 11 0		

As, however, the total, according to Ruding, was £1,791,787 12 0 it is obvious that the amount issued from the mint at York must have approached nearly £300,000.


¹ Marshall's *Milled Coinage*.



EQUESTRIAN PORTRAIT OF JAMES AS PRINCE OF WALES.

PATTERNS AND MEDALS BEARING THE LEGEND IACOBVS III. OR IACOBVS VIII.

BY HELEN FARQUHAR.

HE patterns for the proposed currency of 1709 and 1716, intended for the use of the unfortunate James Francis Edward—called by his adherents in England, James III., and in Scotland, James VIII., but contemptuously designated by the upholders of the Protestant succession, the “Pretender”—suggest some problems which the learned appear to have thought unworthy of much attention. May I be pardoned if I remark, that although they may be said to represent a coinage which never was struck for a king who never reigned, they are not uninteresting either historically or numismatically; whilst from the point of view of art, all will readily admit that the crown of 1709 presents an extremely fine portrait of James by a remarkable artist, for Norbert Roettier, if not equal to his father as a medallist, was yet capable of admirable work.

The family of Roettier, father and sons, which had been settled in England since the days of Charles II., continued for a time at the English Mint after the flight of James II.; but one of the charges brought against John and Norbert Roettier in the February of 1696–7¹, was that dies, bearing the effigy of James, had been abstracted from the Mint with the connivance of the chief engraver, probably in some cases for the use of the exiled king; and we learn from the Stuart Papers² that on November 9th, 1695, James had sent a warrant from St. Germain's appointing John, James and Norbert Roettier to be Engravers-General to the Mint of England, together with a further

¹ *Commons Journal*, vol. xi, p. 686, and Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, Wornam's edition, vol. ii, p. 186.

² *Calendar of the Stuart Papers*, vol. i, p. 109.

warrant to Joseph and Norbert Roettier to procure tools requisite for their work. On December 18th¹ of the same year, James II. ordered the first three mentioned artists to prepare dies for various coins, no doubt intended for his use in the invasion he had planned for the spring of 1696. At the time James II. made these appointments, Joseph Roettier was *Graveur-Général* to the French Mint, and he was succeeded in this position in the year 1703 by Norbert, his nephew, who had fled to France to avoid the enquiry of 1696-7 above-mentioned. The warrants issued by James II. were confirmed by his son under the title of James III. in June, 1703, and again in the year 1710, this last appointment being to Norbert alone; James Roettier having died in 1698, and John in 1703 at his house in Red Lion Square,² whither he had retired on the expression of dissatisfaction by the Parliamentary Committee.

We thus find Norbert Roettier, shortly after the commencement of the titular reign of the younger James, in the position of *Graveur-Général* to the French Mint, and of Engraver-General to the English Court at St. Germain, the latter title being not wholly illusory—for though James had little use for a coinage, he possessed the love of medals, so characteristic of the Stuarts, and all his early medallic portraits are the work of Norbert Roettier. It may not be uninteresting to trace the connection between some of these medals and the proposed coinage bearing the legends IACOBVS III. and IACOBVS VIII., also at the same time to try to solve the somewhat intricate question of the dates found upon the pattern pieces.

In his *Coinage of Scotland*, Mr. Edward Burns has mentioned four, and illustrated three patterns for the intended currency of 1709 and 1716.

These coins may be briefly described thus :—

No. 1. English crown.

Obverse : IACOBVS · III · DEI · GRATIA. Bust of James to right, laureated, in armour and draped with royal mantle.

¹ *Calendar of the Stuart Papers*, vol. i, p. xxxv, Introduction and p. 109.

² Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, vol. ii, p. 186, and *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1st series, vol. iii, p. 185.

Reverse: MAG · BRI · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX · 1709. Oval shield, crowned, containing the arms quarterly, first of England, second of Scotland, third of France, fourth of Ireland.

No. 2. Scottish crown, or sixty-shilling piece, *Burns* 1094.

Obverse: IACOBVS · VIII · DEI · GRATIA. Bust of James from the same puncheon as the last.

Reverse: SCOT · ANGL · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX · 1716. Square shield, crowned, containing the arms of Scotland first and fourth; France and England quarterly, second; Ireland third.

No. 3. Guinea, *Burns* 1095.

Obverse: IACOBVS · VIII · DEI · GRATIA. Bust of James to right, laureated, in armour and draped in royal mantle.

Reverse: SCO · AN · FRA · ET · HIB · REX · 1716. Arms, cruciformly disposed in four shields, crowned, first Scotland, second Ireland, third England, fourth France; between four sceptres, each bearing the insignia of the several countries and springing from a thistle.

No. 4. Guinea, *Burns* 1096.

Obverse: IACOBUS · TERTIUS · Youthful bust of James to left, laureated, draped and in armour.

Reverse: Same as that of the guinea, No. 3, described above, but without the thistle in the centre.

It will be noticed that the Scottish reverse of patterns Nos. 2 and 3 is substituted for the English arrangement, of the arms upon the shield to suit the Scottish title, but the English crown above the shields was by some oversight not altered. That No. 4 should have the Scottish reverse and the English obverse is remarkable, but this piece presents a riddle in other ways, a solution of which I will endeavour to suggest.

I have always been struck by the fact that some of the dies said to have been prepared for the coinage of 1716 are, in point of portraiture, long antecedent to the proposed date of issue, and I have wondered whether this could be explained by the remark of Mr. J. H. Burn¹ that Norbert Roettier did not execute much work for the Stuarts after 1712. There are, of course, medals as well as coin-patterns

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1st series, vol. iii, p. 185.

of a later date than 1712 executed for James by Norbert Roettier. We may give as a sample the medal designed in commemoration of the birth of Prince Charles as late as 1720, see *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, 453-61.



MEDAL TO COMMEMORATE THE BIRTH OF PRINCE CHARLES, 1720.

But this medal, like the crown of 1716, shows an unnaturally youthful portrait of James. On comparing it with the works of Hamerani, of the same date, the obvious explanation is suggested that Roettier and his model had not met for some time, and the artist merely adapted his former designs.

Mr. Burn says, "Roettier was employed by the Stuarts from 1697 to 1712, when Otto Hamerani appears to have been taken into their service."

Ottone Hamerani, however, was one of a family of Roman medallists, and as James first visited Rome in 1717, this date is, possibly, rather premature. He was born in 1694, and his best known medals, executed for the Stuart family, are the portraits he designed in celebration of the marriage of James with Clementina in April, 1719; the medal commemorating the latter's escape from Innsbruck preceding her wedding, and other medals of a later date portraying their children.

But be this as it may, we learn from the *Calendar of the Stuart Papers*,¹ that the dies for the coinage of 1716 were designed for despatch to Scotland after the departure of James for that country, and

¹ *Calendar of the Stuart Papers*, vol. i, p. 503.

this fact supplies us with a reason for the adoption of the bust of 1709 upon the crown, for Norbert Roettier, as stated above, had not his model at hand—indeed he could have seen very little of him during late years, as James had not been resident in the neighbourhood of Paris since 1712, nor indeed in France since 1713; furthermore, the artist was a very busy man. For these and other reasons he may have been willing, or able, rather to alter designs made for the coinage of 1709 than to make a new portrait of his patron. This, however, does not account for the extremely young head upon the IACOBUS · TERTIUS



THE IACOBUS TERTIUS GUINEA.

pattern for a guinea, No. 4, of which I, personally, have never seen the exact reproduction in this size upon any medal, though Mr. Edward Burns states that the head is the same portrait which appears on the jetton of 1697,¹ and I am assured by Mr. W. J. Webster that he has seen it upon a medal of 1699 struck from a much worn die. Apart from this information, there is no doubt that the face closely resembles the youthful portrait of James, dated 1697, in which we see him at the age of nine, *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, 194–503. On the reverse of the specimen here illustrated is the legend OMNIA · FACIT · IPSE · SERENA, but this obverse appears with other reverses.



MEDAL OF PRINCE JAMES, 1697.

¹ *Coinage of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 538.

The bust of the so-called pattern coin is even more like that upon the jettons executed in 1699; a specimen of *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, 204-519, showing the reverse with legend SOLA · LVCE · FVGAT is here illustrated, this obverse, again, may be seen with varying reverses.



MEDAL OF PRINCE JAMES, 1699.

But had Roettier, to save making a fresh portrait of James, wished to adapt a medal to the coinage, surely he would have had recourse by preference, either to that struck in 1704, *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, 270-71, and said to be the "earliest medal of the Prince giving his regal titles,"¹ or, still more probably, to the later and better



FIRST MEDAL CLAIMING REGAL TITLES, 1704.

known bust as seen on the following obverse of the smallest form of the :: CUIUS :: :: EST :: medal issued in 1708, *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, 313, 134,

¹ The medal usually known as the "Succession of Prince James, 1701," *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, 216-549, cannot have been cast earlier than 1710-1712 as Norbert Roettier made the portrait it bears at about that date. There is a print by Thomassin dated 1702, which apparently represents a medal. This is signed R and, therefore, is probably by Roettier. It bears the legend IACOBUS : III · D · G · BRITANNIARUM · IMPERATOR, 1702. I have been unable to trace any such medal. The picture shows bust to left in armour, mantled, with cravat and star; the face and hair being much the same as upon the medal of 1704, but the costume is elaborate and the figure almost three-quarter length. I found the illustration in Dr. Henderson's *Side-lights of English History*, p. 199. Thomassin was engraver to the Court of Louis XIV. and executed drawings of statues, marbles, etc. Hence the print may represent a bas-relief and not a medal.

which closely resembles some designs prepared for the coinage in that year, and which portrait reappeared as late as the year 1712 with the



THE SMALL *CUIUS EST* MEDAL.

bust of Princess Louisa on the reverse, *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, 389–243, signed by the artist. Here, at any rate, we have a grown-up portrait of James, but of this more anon. I shall show that one of the larger *Cuius Est* medals presents almost exactly the same head as that on the crowns, and there is, again, another example bearing the same legend, of a yet larger size, which might have been reduced in its proportions to be made suitable to the currency. This last mentioned medal, *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, 314–137, with mantled bust in armour to left, is an admirable likeness. It was also produced, probably, about 1712 and bears a portrait of Anne on its reverse, *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, 382–232. Very similar dies, with varying inscriptions, are those of Princess Louisa, *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, 388–241; with the jugate busts of James's parents, *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, 216–540, and with the map of Great Britain and Ireland as the reverse, *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, 314–135.

Concerning the *IACOBUS TERTIUS* coin, Mr. Burns says, “Hawkins states that it is doubtful whether the obverse was ever intended to be used with its present reverse.”¹ Herein, I think, lies the solution of the riddle. Mr. Burns gives no reference, but I have been able to trace this statement to the catalogue of medals exhibited at Edinburgh in 1856.² Mr. Hawkins, however, gives no explanation of his remark.

With the exception of the unique English crown bearing the title

¹ *Coinage of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 538.

² Published in the *Illustrated Catalogue of the Archæological Museum, Edinburgh*, 1856, p. 106.

of IACOBVS III., and of which there are no restrikes, we have to rely solely on the authority of Mathew Young for the pairing of these dies, there being no contemporary specimens of the coins known. Everyone has heard that the dies of various medals by John and Norbert Roettier were acquired by Mathew Young from a person named Cox, who had obtained them from the daughters of Norbert Roettier in their extreme old age. Mr. Young, in the year 1828, finding these dies in an advanced state of decay, took great trouble in cleaning and repairing them, and, after striking sixty samples in silver, and a few in gold and white metal of the Scottish crown, and, according to Mr. Hoblyn,¹ only twenty examples in silver of the smaller pieces bearing the Scottish and English titles, which also appeared in gold and bronze, or bronze and copper respectively, he defaced the dies and presented them to the British Museum. We cannot help wondering whether Mr. Hoblyn did not rather understate the case in limiting the output of the smaller pieces to twenty, as they are not infrequently met with in sale-rooms, where they do not command such high prices as the Scottish crown, of which admittedly sixty copies were struck. To the fine sixty-shilling piece of James II., or VII., of which the dies were found in the same collection in the year 1828, Mr. Young applied the same treatment, and this piece also is more prized than the smaller coins, which according to Mr. Hoblyn should be



JAMES II. SIXTY-SHILLING PIECE.

considered the rarer. This coin, again, would be unknown to the public but for the discovery of its dies, for though they were prepared

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, new series, vol. xix, p. 136.

in 1688 for the coinage ordered by Act of Parliament in 1686, only the forty-shilling and ten-shilling pieces were issued, and the sixty-shilling, twenty-shilling and five-shilling pieces did not make their appearance, nor is it even known whether dies for the last two mentioned coins were ever made.

With regard to such coins as these, identification was easy enough, but as there were amongst the dies, many for medals. Mr. Young made some mistakes, and occasionally placed the obverse of one medal with the reverse of another, see *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, 381-230 and 315-138.

All this is common knowledge, but, probably, only those who like myself have, by the kind co-operation of Mr. Grueber, Keeper of the coins and medals at the British Museum, had the opportunity of seeing this collection of dies, are aware of its great extent, and, above all, that the dies are in various states of preparation and duplication; several examples, both of puncheons and dies of the same design, being present in a more or less finished state.

The latter is the case with the reverse of the IACOBVS VIII. guinea, *Burns* No. 1095, the only difference between this and the reverse used by Mr. Young for the IACOBUS·TERTIUS coin, *Burns* No. 1096, being that the thistle in the latter instance is omitted from the centre of the design, and it seems to me certain that Mr. Young believed one of the several unfinished dies made before the thistle was inserted, to be the reverse for a second pattern, selecting, in consequence of its suitability as to size, though not as to date, an obverse intended for a much earlier medal. The fact that one of these dies is merely a completed version of the other is proved by a careful comparison of details, such for example, as the very slight defect in the letter O, of the abbreviated word SCO, being equally perceptible on the die ornamented with the thistle and on that bearing the plain centre.

Besides the puncheon which is without the central thistle, this reverse die is found in no fewer than six stages of preparation. The first die is incomplete even so far as the arms are concerned—the sceptres also are missing. The second die, according to my idea, is

the reverse used by Mathew Young in conjunction with the IACOBUS·TERTIUS obverse. There is another so much defaced that it is impossible to say whether or no the thistle was inserted; whilst the three remaining dies are just as we see them on the finished reverse of the IACOBVS VIII. coin. That the IACOBVS·TERTIUS medal has no other possible reverse amongst the dies in this collection need not disturb us, as the beautiful and unique IACOBUS·III·crown, which was a contemporary coin, is also represented by an obverse die only, the reverse not being found amongst Mr. Young's acquisitions, and this is the case with many of the medals in this collection. Judging from the apparent age of James on the IACOBUS·TERTIUS·obverse, and comparing this young head with the medals of 1697 and 1699, also with various portraits of James as Prince of Wales, I have come to the conclusion—giving my opinion for what it is worth, and with much diffidence—that this die, the unfinished state of which may be judged from the convexity of the medal, was prepared in the year 1701, when Louis XIV. acknowledged the Prince as James III. on the death of his father James II. If I am right, either the reverse die has been lost, or the intention was to use the reverse of one of the former jettons, such as that bearing the legend SOLA·LUCE·FUGAT· which exactly fits it. Of this medal there is a reverse die in Mathew Young's collection, but as it bears the date 1699, it cannot be the die intended actually for use with the so-called guinea obverse. Possibly the medalet remained unfinished and was never used; the first known medal asserting the claim of James to the English crown, being, as I have said, the jetton with his portrait at the age of sixteen, executed in the year 1704.

Whether the puncheon with the young bust had already been used for a medal or no, is not of much importance, for, clearly, the particular die used by Mathew Young with the reverse die of the coin, must have been prepared, at the earliest, on the death of James II., as it bears the regal title. I might, however, suggest that for the date 1697, quoted by Mr. Burns,¹ as that of a jetton bearing this bust of the

¹ *Coinage of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 538.

Prince on its obverse, we might substitute the 1699 of Mr. Webster, taking the former date as a misprint, because the portrait far more nearly resembles the other medals executed of James at the age of eleven, than those showing the younger head of a child of nine.

There is a medal, *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, 201-515, figured by Cochrane-Patrick, *Medals of Scotland*, Plate X, No. 10, with a portrait of James II. on the obverse and a head almost exactly of this type of Prince James in 1699: it is not laureated and is a great deal larger than the so-called guinea, but is, probably, the bust to which Mr. Burns referred. It, however, can hardly be called a jetton for it measures 1·4.

Possibly Mr. Burns accepted too literally a remark made by Mr. Hawkins in the catalogue of his exhibits at Edinburgh in 1856. Mr. Hawkins wrote of the portrait as being "taken from" the early medalets, four of which he had just described¹: they are all of the usual type of 1697, and not precisely like the head shown upon the coin.

We do not lack portraits with which to compare the bust, and perhaps the best known are those by Largillière. A picture by this artist may be seen in the National Portrait Gallery, but being painted in 1695, two years previously to the date of the earliest medals here shown, the face is fuller and rounder than that of the little Prince, as we are accustomed to think of him—moreover, the pictures are mostly full-faced, whereas for medallic portraiture, the profile type is usually preferred. Let us therefore turn to the verbal portraits of the boy.

James is described by contemporary writers, as an attractive child with good features, hazel eyes and curly hair; in his youth he resembled his mother,² a remarkably pretty woman. Lord Ailesbury describes his features thus:—"From the nose upward all of the Queen and the lower part resembling his uncle, my royal master." This comparison was also made by William III., who, on seeing a miniature of the little prince remarked:—"About the mouth he is most like my uncle Charles, and his eyes most like his mother." This was an unsolicited

¹ See illustration on p. 233, also *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, 193-501, *et seq.* and *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum, Edinburgh*, 1856, p. 99.

² *Mary of Modena*, by Martin Haile, p. 255, letter of Pietro Venier, Venetian Envoy to Paris; and *James Francis Edward the old Chevalier*, by the same author, pp. 23, 42.

testimony to the legitimacy of the child, so often denied by his supplanter on the throne.

Later in life the characteristics of the Stuarts came out so strongly as to convince all except the most prejudiced, of the injustice of the imputations against his birth, epitomised in the disagreeable interpretation put upon the word "Pretender." This expression was originally used by Queen Anne in its foreign sense of "le Pretendant," or "the Claimant,"¹ but adopted as a catch-word by his enemies to cling to him through life, and even to his son after him.

Another family resemblance was that to his cousin Louis XIV. which is strongly present upon his medals and coins.

James, during his residence at the French court was naturally an object of interest to English travellers. Rizzini, the Modenese agent in Paris, mentions their eagerness "to have sight of him."² They were delighted with him, for he is always pleasant to look upon, but upon horseback he is seen to wonderful advantage, for the grace, lightness and gallant daring, which at his tender age give him a special dignity and charm." This description is well illustrated by the frontispiece to these pages, which is reduced from a contemporary engraving in the possession of Mr. Andrew and presented to him by Mr. W. Sharp Ogden. It is folio in size and unsigned, but the tautological title, *Jacobus Magnæ Britanniae Et Walliae Princeps*, and the general treatment of the design suggest the usual continental origin of early portraits of the Prince. This assumption is corroborated by the fact that, on the margin of an example of this rare engraving in the British Museum, are the words *J. A. Le Pooter ex.* Le Pooter was a Flemish artist who flourished about 1703; hence, as the horse is of a Flemish type, and no painting corresponding with this print is known, I may remark that, possibly, he was not only the publisher, but himself the engraver and original artist of the portrait.

¹ On the 3rd of April, 1708, Queen Anne had informed Parliament of James's embarkation, and had declared all those who joined "the Pretender," on whose head a price was set, guilty of high treason. This was the first occasion on which the term "Pretender" was used. *Mary of Modena*, p. 406; and Burnet, vol. v, p. 369.

² *Mary of Modena*, p. 334.

We see that James,¹ who was a passionate baby, still possessed as a boy the adventurous spirit which was so strangely absent in his later years; but although dignified and graceful, he lacked the engaging address of his sister, Princess Louisa, and was so cold in his manners that his mother confided to a friend that, "My Lord Perth had often told him when he was a boy, that he ought to obtain by study the affability which his sister had by nature." This coldness and restraint militated much against the success of James in after life, but at the period of which I am now treating, the Prince was unknown to most of his Scottish adherents, and the blind loyalty with which they were willing to lay down their lives to place him upon the throne of his father, was partly owing to their detestation of the English, and partly to the strong feudal feeling in the Highlands, where all the clans were bound to follow the bidding of their chiefs, no matter what that bidding might be.

But I have digressed too far from the subject of the coinage and its possible prototypes in the medals of the young Prince, and must turn to the discussion of the reason why these medalets should be found in such quantities, as to be of comparatively little value to the collector of rarities at the present day, though historically they are interesting, as on them we trace the gradual development of the child, who might have reigned over this kingdom.

Even during the lifetime of his father, the medals of Prince James were struck, mostly in copper, but also, more rarely, in silver, for presentation to the adherents of the exiled family, and were sent to England, many of them to be there hidden away for a more favourable opportunity of distribution, for we find that some fifty years ago, a hoard of three varieties, a whole bushel in quantity, all struck in the year 1697, was discovered during the prosecution of some excavations in Smithfield; and another buried treasure, of similar amount, was unearthed near Lombard Street. Lord Manchester writing to James Vernon in August, 1700, shortly after the death of the young Duke of Gloucester, the most formidable rival to the peaceful

¹ *Mary of Modena*, p. 261.

accession of James, says in his letter : "Some thousand medals of the pretended Prince of Wales are to be stamped by Roettier, who is here, and sent to Captain Cheney, who formerly lived in Hackney, but is now in some part of Kent."¹

These and other early medals give us the effigy of the unfortunate Prince, as we might have seen it upon his coins had he been suffered to quietly succeed his father upon the throne ; and the pattern guinea, *Burns* No. 1,096, might have then lawfully taken the place in the currency, which I presume to suggest was mistakenly given to it by Mathew Young at a later date.

James II. died at St. Germain on September 16th, 1701, and at the court of the Jacobites, James Francis Edward, aged 13, was acknowledged King James III. of England and VIII. of Scotland, but he was, or might have been, nearer his enthronement when, on March 8th, 1702, William III. expired.

In August, 1696, prior to the signing of the treaty of Ryswick, which was completed in October, 1697, William had informed the court of France that if no opposition was made to his occupation of the English throne, he would recognise the Prince of Wales as his successor. The Duke of Berwick writes that this proposal was actually made the subject of a secret article of the Peace of Ryswick, but that James II. promptly refused the offer, whilst the Queen exclaimed, "I would rather see my son, dear as he is to me, dead at my feet, than allow him to become a party to his father's injuries."² The Abbé Rizzini, in a letter of August 21st, 1696, also tells us that Mary Beatrice remarked "that of two usurpers, she could more willingly suffer the present one than her own son."³

But though not allowed by the will of his parents and the stern decrees of fate to follow this peaceful course to the throne, there was yet another door open to the titular King in the constant discontent of his would-be subjects in Scotland, where as James VIII., he would have been readily received ; this again was brought to naught by the timidity and the religious zeal of his mother.

¹ *Mary of Modena*, p. 343.

² *Ibid.*, p. 330.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

Shortly after the death of James II.,¹ Lord Belhaven came over to France as a delegate from a section of the Scottish nation, praying the Queen Regent, as Mary Beatrice was called, to allow her son to embrace the Protestant religion and come to Scotland to be proclaimed king. One of the deputation, Lord Middleton, declared that but for the royal aspirant's creed he believed Parliament would be ready to recognise him as William III.'s successor, but Mary of Modena replied that she would never be the means of persuading her son to barter his heavenly crown for an earthly one. It is further thought that she entertained an erroneous belief that William III. wished to poison the child. Nor was this the only effort made by the Scots to possess themselves of him whom they wished to make their king, for they actually proclaimed him as such at Inverness² on the death of William, and the Duke of Perth urged the advisability of an appeal to arms.

Mary Beatrice, as long as her son remained a minor, refused to sanction this course—thus, through much anxiety and many proposals, we pass to the ill-planned and ill-executed project of the invasion of the Firth of Forth.

The Act of Union was discussed at great length by both nations in 1706, was ratified by the Scottish Parliament in January, 1707, and received the royal assent in England in March of the same year; the great unpopularity of this measure revived the feeling of loyalty towards their ancient Stuart rulers in the breast of the Scots, whatever their creed. Even the Cameronians expressed their willingness to receive James. "God," said they, "may convert him, or he may have Protestant children, but the Union can never be any good"; and Lockhart tells us there was such unanimity amongst Episcopalians and Presbyterians, that to use a Scot's proverb, "they were all one man's bairns."³ The disquiet reached boiling point, when on the 1st of May, 1707, the alteration in the excise duties came into

¹ *Mary of Modena*, p. 358. Information from the St. Germain MSS. in the *Bib. Nat.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 363.

³ *Lockhart Papers*, vol. i, pp. 224 and 227, and Jesse's *Lives of the Pretenders*, vol. i, p. 23.

operation. These duties were specially obnoxious to the people, who were rendered furious by the appointment of Englishmen to carry out measures of which Scotland, as a nation, disapproved; and certainly the Queen of England was not so careful as she should have been in the choice of her agents. All the riff-raff of the southern kingdom ran to the north, and this fact was acknowledged even amongst English people, for a story is told¹ of a Scottish traveller, who expressed to his landlady at an inn on the southern side of the Border, anxiety for his personal valuables on his journey. "Have no fear," said she, "the highwaymen have all gone to your country; they are gone to get themselves places."

An agent, named Hooke,² was sent over from France in February, 1707, to enquire into the wishes of the Scottish dissentients, and returned in May to say that the Scots were willing to rise for King James, if ten thousand regular troops could be supplied by the French king in or before the following August. Several times did Louis raise the hopes of the Jacobite leaders, always to disappoint them, and so often was this the case, that when the French fleet eventually sailed in March, 1707-8, the Scots were unready to receive their allies.³ The Duke of Hamilton, who should have been their leader, was, whether by design to avoid his responsibilities, or by accident, on a journey to England, and the signals made by the French admiral on his arrival at the Firth of Forth were left unanswered. On the other hand, the time chosen could not have been more favourable, for the English were totally unprepared to meet an invasion, insomuch that Lockhart⁴ says, "all the world save Scotland was amazed." But a fleet consisting of sixteen ships, gradually augmented to forty, was rapidly manned by the help of the merchant navy, with Admiral Sir George Byng in command.⁵ This force set forth to watch the much

¹ *Lockhart Papers*, vol. i, p. 224.

² Lieut.-Col. Nathaniel Hooke, see Jesse's *Pretenders*, vol. i, p. 21, and *Stuart Papers*. Vol. i, Introductory, p. xciii. Created Baron, February 19th, 1708, by James III.

³ *Lockhart*, vol. i, pp. 234-246.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 239.

⁵ Burton's *History of Scotland*, vol. viii, p. 203, also Burnet's *History of his own Time*, vol. v, p. 363, edition of 1833, and *Rapin*, vol. iv, p. 58.

smaller French armament of twenty-six, or according to Burton, of twenty-eight ships,¹ under Admiral the Comte de Forbin, at Dunkirk; but Louis XIV.'s fleet, with James on board, contrived to make the Firth of Forth with the design of landing near Edinburgh. Byng was in close pursuit, and Forbin was unwilling to risk an engagement, which it is suspected he had secret orders to avoid. He hurriedly retreated on the 13th of March, 1708, in spite of the entreaties of James, who implored the admiral to land him and his troops near Inverness, or, indeed, anywhere upon the coast. Forbin considered himself responsible to Louis for the safety of his royal charge, and therefore brought him back to Dunkirk, although the story is well known that the French king, in bidding his guest good-bye, had told him he could wish him no better luck than that of seeing his face no more.² The Duke of Berwick blamed the French ministers for this affair, and said that had Forbin been willing to risk his ships, the disembarkation might have been effected.³ Many writers consider that this expedition was a mere *ballon d'essai*, sent out by Louis XIV. to distract attention from more important operations on the continent, in the hope of causing the recall of Marlborough⁴ for the defence of the British Isles. Although one of the French ships, with about five hundred troops, including some English officers on board, on being overtaken by the British fleet, was captured, and those thus seized were considered to be in active rebellion against Queen Anne, no one seriously suffered. The death sentence of Lord Griffin was postponed until such time as a natural death released him from his imprisonment, and other prominent persons who had been arrested on suspicion of complicity in the intended rising were, after a short imprisonment, acquitted on the Scottish plea of *non proven*.⁵ These acquittals suggested an alteration of the treason laws in Scotland, and this added fuel to the

¹ Burton, vol. viii, p. 203.

² Rapin's *History of England*, vol. iv, p. 56.

³ *Duke of Berwick's Memoirs*, vol. ii, p. 55.

⁴ Burton's *History of Scotland*, vol. viii, p. 203, 2nd edition.

⁵ Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. iv, p. 105.

flame of the discontented feeling in the country, so that in spite of the expedition having been a complete failure, James did not abandon hopes of returning to the charge. Although he shortly left France to fight under the name of "the Chevalier de St. George" in the armies of his French host upon the continent, he kept in touch with his would-be subjects; and we are told that Englishmen, fighting under Marlborough, often displayed a great interest in him. He distinguished himself greatly in the following July at Oudenarde and at Malplaquet in September, 1709, where he charged the enemy no less than twelve times.¹ So much were the English officers impressed with his bravery, that when the two armies were encamped in 1710 on opposite sides of the river Scarpe, and various courtesies were exchanged between them, some of the Chevalier's admirers requested that medals bearing his effigy, might be sent to them, and some thirty of these were given, wrapped in a paper on which was written, "The metal is good, for it bore six hours' fire—you know it was hot, for yourselves blew the coals."² Probably the medals were those bearing the legend CVIVS::EST:: on the obverse, and on the reverse, the word REDDITE, of which a large number were also distributed at



LARGE CVIVS EST MEDAL.

MED. ILL., II, 312-133.

Lochmaben, in the year 1714, to the Jacobites assembled there under plea of attending the races.³

It has usually been assumed that these medals, of which there are

¹ Jesse's *Lives of the Pretenders*, vol. i, p. 28.

² *Mary of Modena*, p. 413.

³ See *Med. Ill.*, II, 312 to 314.

examples with three different busts, were struck in anticipation of the French invasion of 1708, and seeing that the larger of the two examples shown in these pages bears a bust of the same type, differing only a little from it in size, as that of the puncheon of the crown of 1709, and that the smaller shows a portrait much resembling the design for the proposed gold coinage of 1708, it may not be uninteresting to follow their history. We read in *Medallic Illustrations of British History*, vol. ii, p. 312, of No. 133—the larger of the two: “This medal was struck for distribution in 1708 among the partisans of the exiled family, when the intrigues of Harley had sown dissensions in the Cabinet, and the unpopularity of the Union had created discontent in Scotland, of which France hoped to avail herself in an invasion which she at this time contemplated.” These medals are, however, undated, and may have been struck later, either in 1709 contemporaneously with the crown, or at any time after May in the year 1708, in which month dies for the crown, and other coins were originally ordered, as I purpose to presently show. There is one variety of the smallest CUIUS EST medal in the British Museum, showing the dates 1709 above and 1716 below the bust (see *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, 313–134), but these figures are incuse and were probably added later. All we know for certain is, that when the Duchess of Gordon presented one of these medals to the Faculty of Advocates in 1711, it was no new thing.¹ The discussion provoked on the occasion of this presentation is given at some length in an amusing pamphlet kindly lent me by Mr. Webster. The act of receiving the gift was considered treasonable, as the legend *Cujus Est* above the bust of James, and the answer *Reddite*, accompanying the map of Great Britain and Ireland upon the reverse, were an avowal of his kingship. The medal was accepted by seventy-five votes against twelve; the action, however, was subsequently disavowed by the Faculty of Advocates, and their apology was accepted, though Sir David Dalrymple was dismissed from his office of Lord Advocate for his

¹ See *The Scotch Medal decipher'd*, p. 7, published in 1711, where the author says, “this Medal is not new, for we have an account of it above a year ago, or rare, for 'tis common enough.”

laxity in prosecuting the enquiry into this affair. The arguments used on either side had been most unparliamentary in their language, Robert Frazer saying that "Oliver Cromwell's medal, who deserv'd to be hang'd, had been received, and why not this?" and Duncan Forbes replying, "It was time enough to receive the medal when the Pretender was hang'd."¹

I have above referred to the fact that we know the date when James ordered his early currency. Since the publication during the last few years, by the permission of His Majesty the King, of a number of the Stuart Papers contained in the Windsor Library, much information has come to light concerning the exiled Court at St. Germain. We see that on October 31st, 1701, James issued a warrant to Norbert Roettier, "for making and engraving the Great Seal for the Kingdom of England,"² whilst the seals for Scotland and Ireland were ordered on October 15th, 1702; and an entry, which is of great interest in the discussion of the date upon the crown piece of 1709, is that of May 4th, new style, 1708.³

On this day, James issued a warrant to his Engraver-General directing him "to prepare and make and send off puncheons and dyes for coyning five-pound pieces, forty-shilling pieces, guineas and half guineas of gold with our Royal Arms on one side, and the picture of Our Royal Self on the other side in the manner marked below No. 1 and No. 2. As also puncheons and dies for coyning of Crowns and half Crowns, shillings and sixpences with our Royal Arms on the one side, and our Royal Self on the other, in the manner marked here below, No. 3 and No. 4." This warrant and these designs mentioned in the *Calendar of the Stuart Papers*, vol. i, p. 223, I have been permitted to inspect and to describe. The design for the gold coinage is as follows:—

Obverse: IACOBVS · III · DEI · GRATIA. Bust of James to left, laureated and undraped.

¹ *Minutes of the Advocates at Edinburgh*, July 30th, 1711. See *The Scotch Medal decipher'd*, p. 3, et seq.

² *Calendar of the Stuart Papers*, vol. i, p. 165. Entry Book 4, p. 61.

³ Warrant, dated May 4th, 1708, at St. Germain. *Stuart Papers MSS. Entry Book* 4, p. 81. Noted in *Calendar of the Stuart Papers*, p. 223.

Reverse: MAG · BR · FRA · ET · HIB · REX · 1708. Four shields, crowned with the English crown, cruciformly arranged, containing the arms of England first, Ireland second, Scotland third, and France fourth; four sceptres, between, bearing the insignia of the different countries; centre plain.

The design for the silver may be described thus:—

Obverse: IACOBVS · III · DEI · GRATIA. Bust of James to left in armour, and draped with royal mantle fastened by a brooch.

Reverse: MAG · BR · FRA · ET · HIB · REX · 1708. Oval shield, crowned with the English crown, containing the arms of England first, of Scotland second, of Ireland third, and of France fourth.

Curiously enough we thus see that the designs are not identical with the coinage either of 1709 or of 1716. The bust on the pieces of those years, with the exception of that upon the IACOBUS · TERTIUS so-called guinea, is to the right—whereas the bust on the designs of 1708, both for gold and for silver, is to the left, and the arms on the reverses are differently arranged. Though the oval shield, surmounted by a large English crown, is represented in the designs for the silver as we see it upon the pattern piece of 1709, the positions of the lys of France which have the third place, and of the harp of Ireland which has the fourth on the pattern, are reversed in the design. The legend on the crown reads BRI · for Britain, and that in the design BR · only, but the drawing which measures 1·2 inch, being of the size for the half-crown, this difference may have only applied to the smaller coins.

With regard to the reverse of the gold coinage, the thistle is absent from the centre, and the arms are differently arranged from those on the guinea of 1716—being first England, second Ireland, third Scotland, and fourth France; whilst the legend reads MAG · BR · FRA · ET · HIB · REX · 1708. These alterations would, however, naturally take place when the Scottish coinage of 1716 was substituted for the English designs of 1708—just as the entirely new Scottish reverse for the silver replaced that which graces the English crown piece of 1709.

The most puzzling problem is the direction assumed by the face, for we should naturally expect a coinage in England with bust to right to follow upon that of James II. which was to left, and truly enough, when the crown was struck in 1709, we see the head thus disposed, although in the designs it is to the left. Possibly James saw reason on this account to revise the order given in 1708 in favour of the design of 1709, for we have no proof that the dies for the former date were ever executed.

I have sought through the dies and puncheons in Mathew Young's collection, and amongst the latter have found some, the use of which I cannot trace absolutely to any medal, but Norbert Roettier was so much in the habit of making slight alterations and variations in his dies, that it is difficult to build too much on any differences in the puncheons in their original state. I give an illustration of one of these which might be intended for the gold coinage, *i.e.*, for the "forty-shilling-piece" of 1708, but not one of the puncheons is exactly like the design. The face and general appearance are best reproduced by the head here shown, though in other ways the design more nearly resembles a puncheon for the medal of 1704—this medal I illustrated



PUNCHEON BY NORBERT ROETTIER.

on page 234, but its portrait is fuller in the face and more youthful ; it has, however, the lovelock on the shoulder seen in the drawing. Neither puncheon is laureated, and in this respect again the likeness is incomplete, whereas the small CUIUS EST medal, illustrated on p. 235, bears the laurel crown ; and a fair idea of the design for 1708 may be best attained by comparing these two medals with the puncheon given above. One would expect the coinage of 1708 to be laureated, as James went to the French wars immediately after the failure of his

expedition to Scotland, but the design for the silver has, as far as I can see, no such decoration; the drawing is, however, not very clear.

In giving these illustrations, I am in the region of pure conjecture, and I only show this and the following puncheons in the possibility that someone, more enlightened than myself, may trace their intended



PUNCHEON FOR THE FIVE-GUINEA PIECE. (?)

use. Amongst the puncheons I found several which, by the kindness of those in authority at the British Museum, I am able to portray. I humbly suggest that *if* in 1709 a complete coinage was planned with the bust to right, as we see it on the crown of that year, the puncheon



PUNCHEON FOR THE GUINEA?

shown above might be that for the five-guinea piece; and in our next illustration we have that for a possible guinea. These the reader will observe are both laureated. The same remark applies to two more candidates for the position of types for the coinage—these may have



POSSIBLE HALF-CROWN FOR 1709.

been for the half-crown and the shilling of 1709—the latter, as I shall show later, may, with equal likelihood, have been for a half-guinea or shilling of 1716, so I reserve the illustration. Be it understood, that I do not think there is sufficient resemblance between any of these puncheons and the designs for the coinage to found any real theory upon their discovery, but I am glad to have the opportunity of placing them before the public—whether or no they represent the efforts of Roettier to produce a currency in 1708, 1709 and 1716.

But to return to our definite knowledge of the order to Roettier to engrave the dies in 1708. The fact that the warrant is dated May 4th, new style, nearly six weeks after the French invasion had failed, strengthens the argument I am about to bring forward with regard to the date on the crown of 1709. According to the French reckoning,¹ the year began on the 1st of January, as it does with us now, also the Gregorian calendar or new style had been adopted in France. In Scotland, although the old style was still in use, the new year was counted from January the 1st. In dealing with medals or coins struck in France for circulation abroad or in Scotland, it is well to remember these different reckonings, for a coin dated simply “1709” may have been struck at any time between the 1st of January, 1709, new style, in France, that is, the 21st of December, 1708, old style, in England, and the 24th of March, 1709, old style, in England, which was the 4th of April, new style, 1710, in France, thus giving a range of fifteen months or more.²

¹ See Bond's *Handy Book for Verifying Dates*, ed. 1866, p. 17, where is printed a paper formerly in His Majesty's State Paper Office, but now in the Record Office.

² The discrepancy of dates upon medals struck in France with the events they were intended to commemorate in England, may be sometimes accounted for by the fact that in England and Ireland, until 1751, the year was reckoned from the 25th of March to the 24th of the March following; the year 1751 was only permitted to last nine months and seven days, *i.e.*, till the 31st of December, the day after the 31st of December being called the 1st of January, 1752. This change in the commencement of the year had already been made at various times in various countries—in Scotland in 1600, by a proclamation of James VI., dated December 17th, 1599, and in France at dates varying from the time when Charles IX. published two edicts in January and August respectively of the year 1563, ordering the change to be made, till the year 1580, when it was adopted at Beauvais—different parts of the country putting the edicts into practice at

In this case, however, these calculations do not much help us, because in the light of our present knowledge, it is not possible to say at what precise moment of the year 1709 the pattern crown was struck, but I may say that there is reason to believe that in the course of that and the previous year James had serious hopes of renewing his efforts towards regaining the throne. The Papal Nuncio, writing to the Pope on May 8th, 1708,¹ says that the French minister "Torcy has confided to me that the King of England during the coming campaign is to make a new attempt toward Scotland. With this view he is going into Flanders in order that His Majesty may be nearer the spot." James also wrote to his Scottish adherents shortly before setting out on May 18th, 1708, to join the French army at Valenciennes, "we propose to come ourselves into the Highlands with money, arms and ammunition, and to put ourselves at the head of our good subjects The Most Christian King has promised to support this undertaking with a sufficient number of troops, as soon as they can be transported with security In the meantime we will stay in the Highlands, unless we be invited or encouraged by our friends in the Lowlands to go to them."

Now it was, as we have seen, in this same May that the warrant was issued to Roettier for the making of puncheons for the coins. Probably before any of these were ready, this project had also failed; for the French, defeated at the battle of Oudenarde in July, 1708, were not in a position to fulfil their promises, and the date,

different dates, and the Parliament of Paris agreeing thereto in 1567. Again, medals struck in the Netherlands confront us with this change in the Catholic districts in 1556, whilst the Protestant Netherlands adopted January the first as New Year's Day in 1583, and so on through an endless procession of countries. The change from the Old Style to the New or Gregorian style further complicates dates, as it was only adopted in Great Britain and Ireland in September, 1752, the day after September 2nd being dated September 14th by one of the provisions of 24 George II., 1751, c. 23, whereas in France it came into use in the year 1582, in some towns, and in others at varying dates, whilst all Christian countries (except Greece and Russia, where the Old Style still prevails) adopted the expedient of dropping ten or eleven nominal or calendar days, at such time as suited their convenience.

¹ Martin Haile's *James Francis Edward*, pp. 93-94, references to *British Museum Vatican Transcripts*, Add. MSS., 15398, 144, 27, and Nairne's *Papers*, D.V. II, fo. 22.

1709, placed on the pattern coin was in anticipation of better times.

Thus, although at the first glance it seems strange that James should have ordered a coinage immediately after his best efforts had failed, we see that he had not abandoned hope, and of this we have ample proof, for though the French court rejected a proposal made by Renaudot in 1708, advocating an invasion of Ireland to be preferred to an attempt upon Scotland, as being "at present safer and more certain,"¹ the friends of James were not easily discouraged. I may call attention to a memoir presented to the court of Versailles in 1709, entitled the "New Scheme,"² wherein the French ministry were assured "that the greatest and most considerable part of that Kingdom" (Great Britain) was actually ready to have declared for James the preceding year, if he had only landed, "but," says Mr. MacFarlane in describing this "scheme" in his history, "though disappointed then, the Scots were still willing, as ever, to join their lawful sovereign, and everything that had happened since, had contributed to increase their hatred of England, and so facilitate his return. There were, for example, fewer regular troops in Scotland now than then" "Ireland was represented on the tiptoe of revolt, a universal rising in Ireland and Scotland would of itself make so powerful a diversion that the great alliance of confederate princes would fall to pieces before it, and France regain her supremacy" "But still the most passionate Jacobites in Scotland would hardly rise unless assisted with at least 8,000 men from France, some ammunition and a certain sum of money." At this time Louis was in straits for the sinews of war, and was seriously turning his attention to thoughts of peace. The Scots were asked whether they would rise if the king were to come among them with 400 or 500 men to be followed by troops from France, but they doubted of success and so rejected the proposal.

¹ *Mary of Modena*, p. 409, *Renaudot Papers*, *Bib. Nat.*

² Hooke's Negotiations, see *Pictorial History of England*, vol. iv, Book ix, Chap. I, p. 228.

Early in the year a list of the Highland clans, ready to rise for James, had been sent to the French court, even computing "the number of all the men 12,000, The King might likewise expect from the Low counties of Scotland at least 20,000, for the King hath generally, all the country over, three for him for one against him."

We find amongst the Stuart Papers, a letter from James to Pope Clement XI.¹ written from St. Germain-en-Laye, later in the year 1709, saying—"It has pleased God to preserve for us still a good number of faithful subjects in our three Kingdoms, who are always ready to receive us with open arms and declare for us. His Most Christian Majesty is also inclined, so far as the bad state of his affairs permits him, to assist us with everything that depends on him to put us in a condition to make another attempt for our restoration, and, if your Holiness would have the goodness to join with him, we are always ready to risk our person, and have every ground to hope that the Divine Mercy will bless so just an undertaking for His glory, and for the good of the holy religion, for which we are suffering." James goes on to explain that "a considerable supply of money is required," that the King of France "is absolutely unable to furnish us with any considerable advance," and ends by asking the Pope "to lend us what you can yourself, and employ your credit and authority to get a good sum of money lent us secretly by other Catholic Princes, or by the clergy of Rome and elsewhere, or by such other way as you shall judge suitable to aid, with the other assistance His Most Christian Majesty will give us, in restoring us, and with us restoring religion in our states."

James, who was himself tolerant of all forms of belief, was still utterly unable to realise that his religion, to which he was consistently loyal, was the great obstacle to his accession to the English throne, and though in the letter² written on March 1st, 1708, for publication had he succeeded in landing in Scotland, he had promised, as he was ever ready to do, on "Our Royal Word to protect, secure and maintain all our Protestant Subjects in the free exercise of their Religion," in all

¹ *Calendar of Stuart Papers*, vol. i, p. 235, in French in Entry Book I, p. 65.

See *Calendar of Stuart Papers*, p. 218, vol. i.

the subsequent correspondence with the English ministers, after the Tory party had come into power, nothing would induce James to declare himself a Protestant, even when this would have facilitated his peaceful succession on the death of Queen Anne.¹

Unfortunately the *Stuart Papers* of this date are not nearly so full as those of later years: this is probably due to the destruction during the French Revolution of a portion of those committed to the keeping of the Scots' College at Paris.² But, if I may be pardoned for advancing the theory that James had ample justification for his hopes of a restoration in 1709, I will now pass on to another extract from the *Stuart Papers*, which bears upon the solitary specimen of the coin at present known.

In the year 1716 General George Hamilton wrote to James from Paris on February 13th, new style, just at the time when the unfortunate exile was retreating from Scotland, "I send a little box I got from M. Roettier—a crown designed for the English coin in 1709, and the impression of the crown piece that's to be now coined in Scotland."³ We do not, of course, know what became of these two specimens; no original of the 1716 crown is known, and as James would have left Scotland before the "little box" could have arrived, they were possibly both lost. If, however, they found their way back to France, which seems probable as another letter written by Hamilton to the Earl of Mar on the same day, is endorsed "Returned and delivered at Paris, March 11th," the first coin mentioned may be the actual example preserved in the British Museum and acquired from the Wigan collection in 1872. Before that date it was shown by Mr. Hawkins at a Meeting of the London Numismatic Society in the year 1851.⁴ It was then understood to be the property of a Major, afterwards General Moore, who was thought to have obtained it abroad. I am enabled to give an illustration of this unique specimen from the National collection.

¹ *Stuart Papers*, vol. i, Introductory, lii.

² *Calendar of Stuart Papers*, vol. i, Introductory, xxv.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 502.

⁴ Proceedings, Feb. 1851, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1st series, vol. xiv.

The position of affairs in England in the year 1710, owing to the ascendancy of the Tory party, looked more hopeful for the Jacobite cause, and James, fighting against the English abroad, was still intriguing to rule the English at home. From this time forward he passed little time in France, for his ejection was made a stipulation in the Treaty of Utrecht¹ and all preliminaries thereto, and from



CROWN, *JACOBVS III*, 1709.

1712 onward, we find him the guest of the Duc de Lorraine at Bar, though in active correspondence with Berwick,² who resided in Paris, and through whose means James negotiated in secret with the English ministry. Could he have been present at the deathbed of Queen Anne, there is little doubt that his peaceful accession had been assured. Again in "The 'Fifteen" all might have been well, had he been able to fulfil the expectations of his adherents by arriving amongst them in person at the concerted time, properly equipped with men and money,³ whether upon the coast of England or of Scotland—for the place of landing remained undecided to the last.⁴ Had he, when he did arrive at the last moment, been able to bring with him the great general, the Duke of Berwick, who had been through twenty-six campaigns by the time he was forty-four years of

¹ The Treaty of Utrecht was signed April 12th, 1713.

² *Calendar of the Stuart Papers*, vol. i, p. 264 *et seq.*

³ By the advice of the Scots, the invasion of 1715 had been put off from August 10th, N.S., to September 6th, O.S. See memorial from Mar, July, 1715. *Stuart Papers*, vol. i, 520, and pp. 375 and 376.

⁴ *Calendar of Stuart Papers*, vol. i, Introductory, lxxx, and Jesse's *Lives of the Pretenders*, vol. i, p. 37.

age,¹ and would have brought experience to the field, this again might have compensated for the lack of men and money, and all might have been retrieved. Berwick being a naturalised French subject, was unable to accompany his natural brother without the sanction of the French Court,² but his refusal to do so caused a coldness between James and the marshal,³ which was only healed when both were advanced in years. Again, had James, although arriving almost alone and unsupported as he did, possessed the fire and energy which characterised his more venturous son in "The 'Forty-Five," something might have been done, but the ill-fortune of the Stuarts followed him throughout; he gave way to depression and even to tears, and as Prince Eugene said of him when he wept on the failure of his hopes—"Weeping is not the way to conquer kingdoms."⁴

The real death-blow to the expedition of 1715 was the demise of Louis XIV. on September 1st, on the very eve of the rising, when the Regent d'Orleans, unwilling to risk anything in defence of the late King's *protégé*, delayed the promised help; and we may quote Bolingbroke, who, in a letter to Sir William Wyndham, speaking of the dying Louis, said, "My hopes sank as he declined, and died when he expired."⁵ The events of the rebellion of 1715 are too well known to need repetition; suffice it to say that Mar had raised the standard of the Chevalier in September, 1715, and the earlier part of the campaign was favourable to the cause of the Stuarts, but Mar was a failure as a general, and there was no unanimity amongst his followers. He himself was one of the late ministers of Anne, whom George on his accession had alienated from his side by the coldness with which he had met his advances. Mar, spurned by the King *de facto*, turned to the King *de jure*. I do not insinuate that he did not try his best to conquer for James, but circumstances were against him. The promised diversion in the West of England under Ormonde did not take place, and for some months the awaited leader from France did not

¹ *Duke of Berwick's Memoirs*, vol. ii, p. 261.

² *Calendar of Stuart Papers*, vol. i, Introductory, lxxxi, and pp. 441, 451, 500, 504.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 459 and 466.

⁴ *Jesse's Lives of the Pretenders*, vol. i, p. 59.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 37.

arrive. The expected help from Sweden was not forthcoming,¹ and the English and Scots were still on doubtful terms. To quote the words of a writer of the beginning of last century,² "In England, it might be said that the Chevalier had the general feeling in his favour, but it was not zealous. In Scotland he was supported by a zealous attachment, but it was not general."

The forces under Argyle grew stronger, and when, after endless delays—augmented by his illness from an ague after his landing at Peterhead on December 22nd—James at last made a public entry into Perth on the 10th of January, 1716, the termination of the affair was a foregone conclusion.

James executed various acts of sovereignty, calling all men between the ages of sixteen and sixty to his standard,³ fixing his coronation at Scone for the 23rd, and ordering all foreign money to be current. This last proclamation gave rise to the remark that "there was only too little of it in the country, and an announcement of arrivals [thereof] would be more acceptable than the unnecessary injunction."⁴

Amongst the more recently deciphered of the Stuart Papers is a proposition from a certain Colonel James Fountaine⁵ written to Bolingbroke on March 18th and April 22nd, 1716—after the failure of the expedition—to suggest the striking of a million sterling in small coins, one-half of which should be dispatched to Scotland at the expense of Fountaine and his associate, if James would authorise him to keep the other half for his own use, and obtain the Pope's permission that the coins so struck should be current at Avignon. They were to bear the Papal arms and cipher, and to be of the "same touch, vullum, collore and consistance of the small actuale coyne of France." A thin blank showing the quality of the metal was enclosed. If the Pope objected, it was suggested that James should promise

¹ Charles XII. had promised to assist James with 12,000 men, but owing to the investment of Stralsund, was unable to fulfil his intention.

² Chambers' *Rebellion*, pub. in Constable's *Miscellany*, vol. xlii, p. 173.

³ *Stuart Papers*, vol. i, p. 486, and Chambers' *Rebellion*, p. 294.

⁴ Burton's *History of Scotland*, vol. viii, p. 323, 2nd edition.

⁵ Letters of Fountaine in the *Stuart Papers*, MSS., addressed to Lord Bolingbroke.

“when God Almighty enables him, to take up this small coyn and give silver for it and then to put his own stamp upon it,¹ which will serve him for so much money when he returns to his kingdoms.” The pieces were to be current for twopence-halfpenny and for five farthings. It does not appear that Bolingbroke or Mar consented to this proposition.

To return to the adventures of the unfortunate aspirant to the throne. All chance of success was at an end, and much against his own wishes James was persuaded to re-embark for France, retreating before the advancing Argyle. Taking with him Mar and such of his followers as he could convey, he embarked on 4th February, old style, in a small boat, and landed near Graveline seven days later.

James was no coward, as his retreat would lead us to suspect, but he was possessed with the idea that his people would make better terms without him, as he himself states in his letter of farewell to his Scottish subjects, February 4th–15th, 1716²: but the portrait given of him by one of his adherents³ is not inspiring:—

His person was tall and thin, seeming to incline to be lean rather than to fill as he grows in years. His countenance was pale, but perhaps looked more so than usual, by reason he had three fits of an ague, which took him two days after his coming on shore. Yet he seems to be sanguine in his constitution, and there was something of a vivacity in his eye, that perhaps would have been more visible, if he had not been under dejected circumstances, and surrounded with discouragement His speech was grave, and not very clearly expressive of his thoughts . . . but his words were few, and his temper and behaviour seemed always composed. What he was in his diversions we know not; here was no room for such things. It was no time for mirth. Neither can I say I ever saw him smile

¹ That is, to countermark it.

² “As I look’d on my remaining among you not only as useless, but even destructive to you, convinced as I am that you would never abandon me, and that therefore my stay could only serve to involve you in greater difficulties—I took the partie to repass the seas.” “Letter of adieu to the Scotch.” *Calendar of Stuart Papers*, vol. i, p. 506, see also p. 508, letter from Mar.

³ Constable’s *Miscellany*, vol. xlii, p. 296, from a true account of the Proceedings of Perth by a Rebel, but Mr. Martin Haile in *James Francis Edward* suggests that it was not written by an adherent of the Stuarts, but to throw discredit on their cause.

When we saw the man whom they called our king, we found ourselves not at all animated by his presence, and if he was disappointed in us, we were tenfold more so by him Some said the circumstances he found us in dejected him. I am sure the figure he made dejected us; and had he sent us but five thousand men of good troops, and never himself come among us, we had done other things than we have now done. At the approach of that crisis when he was to defend his pretensions, and either lose his life or gain a crown, I think, as his affairs were situated, no man can say that his appearing grave and composed was a token of his want of thought, but rather of a significant anxiety, grounded upon the prospect of his inevitable ruin, which he could not be so void of sense as not to see plainly before him, at least when he came to see how inconsistent his measures were, how unsteady the resolutions of his guides, and how impossible it was to make them agree with one another.

In speaking of the rising of 1715-16, Mr. Hoblyn says,¹ that on the failure of the expedition, "James fled to France taking the dies for the coinage, excepting that of the 1709 crown with him." One cannot help thinking that such dies as are now in the British Museum, including the obverse die of this crown, never left the hands of the Roettiers, in whose possession they were found on the death of Norbert Roettier in 1727, and at which time correspondence passed between his widow and James on the subject of her claim to the retention of the same—she refused to give them up without compensation. This correspondence is, I believe, amongst the *Stuart Papers*, but I have not seen it. In the light of entries in the *Stuart Papers*, published subsequently to the date of Mr. Hoblyn's article, we know that the dies for the greater part of the coinage were not ready to be sent to James at the time of his exodus from Scotland. In the letter² before mentioned, from General Hamilton, dated Paris, February 13th, we read, "The guineas, shillings and sixpences are not yet finished, but the whole punches for stamping will be ready to be sent in eight days." That the coins were intended to be struck in Scotland from Norbert Roettier's dies is clear, as I have already quoted from this letter that General Hamilton sent one "impression of the crown-piece that's to be

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 2nd Series, vol. xix, p. 136.

² *Calendar of the Stuart Papers*, vol. i, p. 503.

now coined in Scotland," but James was himself in France within the specified "eight days," clearly therefore the dies would not be sent.



CROWN, JACOBVS VIII., 1716.

The "crown-piece" is, as we have seen, a reproduction so far as regards the obverse, of the former crown, with the substitution of the Scottish for the English title, and with a new reverse specially designed for Scotland, whilst the guinea bears a head which I have so far been



GUINEA, JACOBVS VIII., 1716.

unable to trace to any former design, though among the puncheons in Mathew Young's collection, there is a smaller bust of more or less the same type. May I say that, possibly, this was one of the unfinished designs for the shilling, unless, as I suggested on page 251, it might be for the coinage for 1709. I have found no trace of the sixpence specified as "not yet finished."



PUNCHEON FOR SHILLING OF 1709 OR 1716. (?)

We must notice that for the guinea just illustrated, the draped bust is used and not the bare neck of the design for gold made in 1708, so this puncheon may have been intended for a half-guinea, if Mr. Young was right in placing this obverse and reverse together, and there is no evidence to the contrary. Of the other example supposed by Mathew Young to be a guinea I have presumed to question the intended use.

The *Stuart Papers* for the year 1716 contain¹ another notice of the activity displayed by Norbert Roettier as engraver to the English Mint in France, for on April 8th, *n.s.*, Mar writes to him, telling him to make seals, one "the Signet for Scotland," another for the private use of the king. Careful instructions are given as to the arrangement on the former of the Scottish titles, the Scottish arms and of the Scottish as opposed to the English crown, "the flower de luce ought to be with the crosses betwixt, which is just the reverse of that of the English, tho' commonly this is not minded as it ought by those who cut the seals for Scotland." The Seals were to be made in steel as, "Seals cut in silver, though they appear well at first, soon wear out." Roettier sent designs for the two seals on April 23rd, saying he would make them as soon as possible. The notice concerning the Scottish crown is interesting, because the alterations in the sixty-shilling-piece did not include this change, though the shield and titles were substituted for those of England.

Disheartened though James appeared to his Scottish adherents, he had not given up all hope, and during the immediately succeeding years, he was constantly planning to retrieve his failure. Help was expected first from Sweden, but the death² of Charles XII. put a stop to the romantic crusade against the Hanoverians projected by that monarch. Spain next came to the rescue, but the elements fought against the Stuarts, and of the large Spanish fleet laden with men and money, only two frigates, having on board three Scottish leaders with a few hundred men, succeeded in reaching the appointed rendezvous in the Island of Lewis. These men, when defeated at the battle of

¹ *Calendar of Stuart Papers*, vol. ii, p. 74 and p. 116.

² Charles had purposed to place 10,000 troops under the orders of James, but the Swedish King died at Frederickshall on December 11th, 1718.

Glenshiel in 1719, were compelled to surrender, and the rising provoked fresh reprisals by the English court upon the unfortunate Jacobites—but we must not enter at length upon a discussion of the Chevalier's schemes, for, so far as we know, no intended coinage was prepared for this event. The *Stuart Papers* for that year are not yet published, but Mr. Blackburne Daniell, to whose kindness I owe many thanks, informs me that he has not come across any designs for a coinage amongst the papers he has so far sifted, which extend to March, 1718. We may, however, give an illustration of one of the medals of the date 1719, for we here see the portrait of James as he might have been presented to us on his coins, had this last invasion been crowned with success. See *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, 446–52.



MARRIAGE MEDAL OF JAMES BY OTTO HAMERANI.

This medal is the work of Ottone Hamerani, before mentioned as a noted medallist of the Papal Court. It gives us a good idea of James as he appeared in his 31st year, and as it no doubt more nearly resembled him at that time, it would have been more suitable to a coinage than the proposed patterns of 1716, which as we have seen bear the portrait of a man hardly twenty years old. Inasmuch as the history of the unfortunate exile's later days remains, as far as present discoveries tell us, unsupported by numismatic evidence, it is not for me to enter into his fluctuating hopes of restoration, to tell of his plans for risings in Scotland in various years, of his hurried preparations on hearing of the death of George I. in 1727,¹ or of his

¹ *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii, p. 359 *et seq.*

incessant correspondence with his adherents in both kingdoms, for ever forming fresh projects—always to meet with disappointment. He travelled from place to place, but resided mostly in the Papal dominions, almost the only domicile open to him, and from the date of his marriage onward, lived principally in the city of Rome.

Although ever ready to assert his rights for the sake of his children, James was shattered in health by the many reverses he had sustained, and he at length desisted from his personal efforts to regain the throne. He would have been more than willing to relinquish his claims in favour of his son—saying no less to the King of France¹ when asking his aid for the enterprise of 1745, and, typical of the entire death of his individual ambition, is his calm and resigned though affectionate answer to an ardent speech of his son on the eve of his departure, eager for conquest. Charles said, “I trust I shall soon be able to lay three crowns at your feet.” “Be careful, my dear boy,” returned the father, “for I would not lose you for all the crowns in the world.”² It was said of James that he was more fitted to be a cardinal than a king, nor was this far wrong, as, in him, austere loyalty to his religion was foremost of all things, and his contemporaries might have said to him, as Richelieu said to Henry, Cardinal York, when he kept a council of war waiting that he might attend mass, “You may gain the kingdom of Heaven by your prayers, but never the kingdom of England.”³ We may perhaps be permitted to glance at the verbal portraiture of James as he appeared to two travellers who saw him in the year 1740, not long before the time when, had fortune favoured Prince Charles, the efforts of the latter might have placed the elder Chevalier on the throne, for we have none of the medallic type to bring him before us at that date. Gray, the poet, writing to his mother, describes him thus: “He is a thin, ill-made man, extremely tall and awkward, of a most unpromising countenance, a good deal resembling King James the Second, and has extremely the air and

¹ *Last of the Royal Stuarts*, p. 31. Letter from James to Louis XV., August 11th, 1745.

² *Jesse*, vol. i, p. 74.

³ *The Last of the Royal Stuarts*, by Vaughan, p. 38.

look of an idiot, particularly when he laughs or prays ; the first he does not do often, the latter continually." This is manifestly an unfair description, as, far from being "an idiot," James was ill-fitted for the path of an adventurer by the very fact that he had too much common-sense to give way to enthusiasm, and we look back with pleasure to the remark of Gordon of Glenbucket, who interviewed James at Perth in 1716 :—" He was the only modest man there ; he hearkened to reason." But Gray was an adverse critic, and we would rather quote the less prejudiced President, Charles des Brosses,¹ who though he speaks of James as "dévot à l'excès," says, "His behaviour was dignified"—"he speaks seldom, but always courteously and pleasantly. It is easy to recognise him for a Stuart, of which family he has every trait, for he is tall and lean, and in face strongly resembles the portraits we have in France of his father, James II. He is also very like the Duke of Berwick, his natural brother, except that the Marshal's face was sad and severe, while that of the Pretender is sad and feeble . . . his dignity of manners is extraordinary. I never beheld any Prince preside over an assembly so well and so gracefully." This last sentence of des Brosses is corroborated by the description given by Lord Blandford of his reception by James, when his "salute was returned with a smile which changed the sedateness of his former aspect into a very graceful countenance."

Leslie, the chaplain to the Protestant members of his household at Bar-le-Duc, depicts his royal master as "tall, straight and clean-limbed, slender, yet his bones pretty large ; he has a very graceful mien, walks fast and his gait has great resemblance to his uncle Charles II. He is always cheerful but seldom merry, thoughtful but not dejected, and bears his misfortunes with a visible magnanimity of spirit." Leslie continues with a panegyric on his abilities, toleration—a matter of certain knowledge to the Protestant divine—his application to business, sweetness of temper and the like. This was at the age of thirty-six.

But to return to his personal appearance in later life. Horace

¹ Lettres sur l'Italie given in *The Last of the Royal Stuarts*, p. 17.

Walpole draws a parallel between Charles I. and his grandson, and writing in 1752, when the latter was an old man, he finally says—“Without the particular features of any Stuart, the Chevalier has the strong lines and fatality of air peculiar to them all.” In his youth, Mar,¹ who called him “the finest gentleman I ever saw,” had compared him, as had Ailesbury and others, to Charles the Second; we thus see him likened to all his royal predecessors, and, alas! to him, more than to any other member of that unfortunate family, applies the remark of one of the biographers² of Charles I.: “It is possible the English people did not understand the Stuarts; it is certain that the Stuarts did not understand the English people.”

May I suggest that the marked melancholy of James's aspect, commented on by all contemporary writers as so characteristic of the Stuarts, somewhat concealed from the casual observer the very real intelligence which, had he been understood, would have endeared him to his subjects. Of his mental powers there is no doubt. Mar, in the letter quoted above, says:—“He has fine parts and despatches all his business himself with the greatest exactness. I never saw anyone write so finely; . . . in a word, he is fitted to make a happy people were his subjects more worthy of him.” But what need have we of further evidence as to his industry, or his other good and royal qualities when the mass of the *Stuart Papers* lies open before us?

Pious, generous, honourable, his letters written with quiet tact and common-sense, and in good English notwithstanding his foreign education—he lived out the remaining years of his life in dignified seclusion, the honoured guest of the Papal States, where, almost alone, his regal title was acknowledged.

At his death his funeral was conducted with all the formalities due to a king. It may interest the numismatist to hear that in an account in the *Stuart Papers*,³ written in Italian, of the ceremonies observed on this occasion, it is stated that three large medals—gold, silver and

¹ Letter from Mar, dated Glames, January 5th, 1716.

² Sir John Skelton's *Charles I.*, p. 176.

³ “An account of the last illness, death, and solemn obsequies of H.M. King James III., King of Great Britain.” Add. MSS. 34,634 (250) Brit. Mus. *James Francis Edward*, p. 449.

bronze respectively—bearing his effigy on one side and a view of the city of London on the reverse, were thrown at the last moment into his coffin. As I conclude that this description must apply to Hamerani's last medal of James, executed in 1721,¹ I illustrate it here ; for, as far as I know, there is no other medallic representation of him with a view of London on the reverse.



MEDAL, CALLED "THE APPEAL AGAINST THE HOUSE OF HANOVER."

It seems strange that no more recent medallic portrait of the titular king should have been forthcoming, for in the poverty of the Jacobite court, medals were freely distributed as the only reward at the disposal of the royal family, in requital of small services rendered to them.

According to most authorities² this medal is the work of Ottone Hamerani, but Nagler³ in his *Künstler-Lexicon* distinctly states on the word of Lochner⁴ that this and several others of the medallic portraits of James, usually attributed to Otto, are to be assigned to his elder brother Ermenegildo—a list of whose productions he appends. In this list he figures the jugate busts of James and Clementina, *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, 445–51, and as this last medal is signed with the monogram H.E. for the initial letter of HEAMERANI instead of, as usually printed, HAMERANI, and the workmanship of the two medals bears a close

¹ *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, 454, No. 63.

² *Dictionary of Medallists*, by L. Forrer, etc.

³ Nagler's *Künstler-Lexicon*, vol. v, p. 535.

⁴ Quoting Lochner's *Sammlung Merkwürdiger Medaillen*, vol. v, Vorrede, 1741.

relationship the one to the other, we may perhaps be permitted to accept his dictum with regard to the above illustrated medal called in *Medallic Illustrations of British History*, vol. ii, 454-63, "Appeal against the House of Hanover."

On the other hand it is fair to state that I find on referring to Lochner's lectures, that he includes in the list a medal which is signed by Otto, and which he himself had ascribed to that artist in a former article.¹ I allude to the marriage medal I illustrated on page 264. Lochner, writing during the lifetime of the artists, should be a reliable authority, but in this instance he appears to contradict himself. Nagler states that Ermenegildo Hamerani and his brother Ottone both worked for the exiled Stuarts, and amongst the *Stuart Papers*² we find a warrant appointing Otto Emerano Hamerani engraver to James III. This warrant is dated October 25th, 1720, and is followed on May 16th, 1761,³ by a grant of a similar appointment to Ferdinand Hamerani.⁴ Some confusion arises from the fact that in this latter document Otto Hamerani is referred to as deceased, whereas the usually received date⁵ of his death is the year 1768. But this is not the place to enter into a discussion on the various members of the Hamerani family—as many and as puzzling to the numismatist as our talented Wyons; I have already too long occupied the time of my readers, and must close with a final reference to the titular King James. He died in January in 1766, having during his *de jure* reign seen upon the throne of his ancestors, five of his supplanters; had he peacefully succeeded his father in 1701, his reign would have been rather more than six months longer than that even of Queen Victoria, and had circumstances favoured him, who shall say that he might not have made a good king? At any rate we would rather respect his misfortunes, so patiently borne to the end of a career of adversity, than compare the far sadder death of his rival George I.,

¹ Lochner, vol. i, p. 129, 1737.

² *Stuart Papers*, MSS., Entry Book, 6, p. 11.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 28, in French.

⁴ See *Stuart Papers*, MSS., Entry Book, 6, p. 28.

⁵ See Forrer's *Dictionary of Medallists* and Bolzenthals *Skizzen zur Kunstgeschichte der Modernen Medaillen Arbeit*.

who died unloved by the English people to the last, as much an exile from his beloved Hanover during his enforced residence in England, as was James from the land of his birth and the throne of the Stuarts.

I have now only to express my humble gratitude to His Majesty the King for allowing me to examine some of the *Stuart Papers* ; and to specially thank Mr. Grueber, Mr. Martin Haile, and others, who have assisted me in my researches, also our Editors and many members of this Society, whose constant help has made my task very pleasant, and to beg kindly indulgence in that I have written so long a paper on so limited a subject as that of the patterns and medals bearing the legend IACOBVS III. or IACOBVS VIII.



PRIVATE TOKENS.

Pl. I.


NOTES ON THE PRIVATE TOKENS, THEIR ISSUERS
AND DIE-SINKERS.

(Continued.)

By S. H. HAMER.

WORCESTERSHIRE.

DUDLEY.

 HERE are four tokens of the penny-size purporting to have been issued by E. Davis, a nail-factor ; all these are rare. The general facts of the case are in opposition to the idea of their having been intended for currency, namely :—1. They were issued in the same year as the Government's issue of the copper coinage of 1797. 2. They never appear in a worn or circulated condition. 3. They are rare tokens. We are, therefore, led to look for some other cause for their existence, and if not made at the instance of Skidmore for sale to collectors, I must conclude that they could only have been issued by E. Davis as private tokens. They are as follows :—

1. *Obverse*.—View of an ancient building, partially in ruins ; below, JACOBS.
Legend.—PART OF DUDLEY PRIORY. Below, 1797.
Reverse.—& D in ornamental script capitals between two laurel branches joined ; above, an ornamentation.
Legend.—E^D DAVIES · NAIL · FACTOR · DUDLEY—
Edge-reading.—I PROMISE TO PAY ON DEMAND THE
BEARER ONE PENNY & Fig. 1.
2. *Obverse*.—View of a ruin.
Legend.—DUDLEY · PRIORY ; in exergue, JACOBS.
Reverse and *edge* as No. 1. Fig. 2.

3. *Obverse*.—View of a ruin.

Legend.—THE. CHAPPLE. IN. DUDLEY CASTLE.

Reverse and edge as No. 1. Fig. 3.

4. *Obverse*.—View of a ruin.

Legend.—TOWER. OF. DUDLEY. CASTLE. 1797.

Reverse and edge as No. 1. Fig. 4.

The name of Edward Davis appears in *The Universal British Directory*, 1790, as an ironmonger; and in *The Commercial Directory* of 1818–1820, published by James Pigot, an entry under the heading of “Nail Ironmongers and Manufacturers” is “Edw. Davis and Sons, King St.” They were also makers of vices and chains. Otherwise, I should have looked upon these tokens as being of the class made for sale to collectors. C. Pye did not include them in his list, and if they had been issued for currency I think they would have appeared there.

They are a doubtful quantity, and as such I must leave them.

EVESHAM.

Thomas Thompson, member of Parliament for Evesham, issued a private token of the penny-size. Sixty were struck in copper-bronzed, and three in gold, namely :—

Obverse.—View of the Abbots’ Tower with the churches of All Saints and St. Lawrence in the distance; below, in small letters, JACOBS, the name of the die-sinker.

Legend.—EVESHAM PENNY.

Reverse.—J J in ornamental script capitals between two laurel branches joined below.

Legend.—Above, PAYABLE BY; below, JUNE 6 1796.

Edge-reading.—I PROMISE TO PAY ON DEMAND THE BEARER ONE PENNY × Fig. 5.

The Rev. W. R. Hay, in a manuscript list of collectors written inside the cover of his copy of Pye’s work, states that Mr. Thompson was a natural son of a “Mr. Levi of 39 Piccadilly.”

YORKSHIRE.

HALIFAX.

During the periods in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when tokens were being issued throughout the country, none were issued for currency by anyone at Halifax. Nor were any private tokens issued there prior to 1899. In that year, to encourage the issue and exchange of such pieces, I had dies sunk of two obverses and one reverse for private tokens. These were used with a plain collar. See Figs. 6 and 7.

In the following year I had a similar series of dies sunk; the tokens in this instance being struck in a three-split collar with the legend I · WILL · EXCHANGE · MY · TOKEN · FOR · AN · APPROVED · ONE, two acorns and a pellet separating the beginning from the end of the reading. Figs. 8 and 9.

In the year 1901 I had two pairs of dies sunk, the design of each obverse being of an emblematical character, intended to show the desirability of obtaining the best information on any subject with a view to arriving at an equitable decision. A three-split collar was again used, engraved with the lettering TIME · ADDS · A · VALUE · TO THIS · TOKEN · RARE, an eye between two oak leaves separating the beginning from the end of the legend. Figs. 10 and 11.

All the dies were engraved and the tokens struck at the works of J. A. Restall, at Birmingham; the number of each series being but small.

LEEDS.

Samuel Birchall, of Leeds, issued the following private token :—

Obverse.—Between two oak branches joined below, a shield of arms surmounted by a crest.

Legend.—LEEDS COMMERCIAL HALFPENNY.

Reverse.—A suspended fleece.

Legend.—PROSPERITY TO THE WOOLLEN MANUFACTORY
1795.

Edge-reading.—PAYABLE BY SAMUEL BIRCHALL. Fig. 12.

VOL. III.

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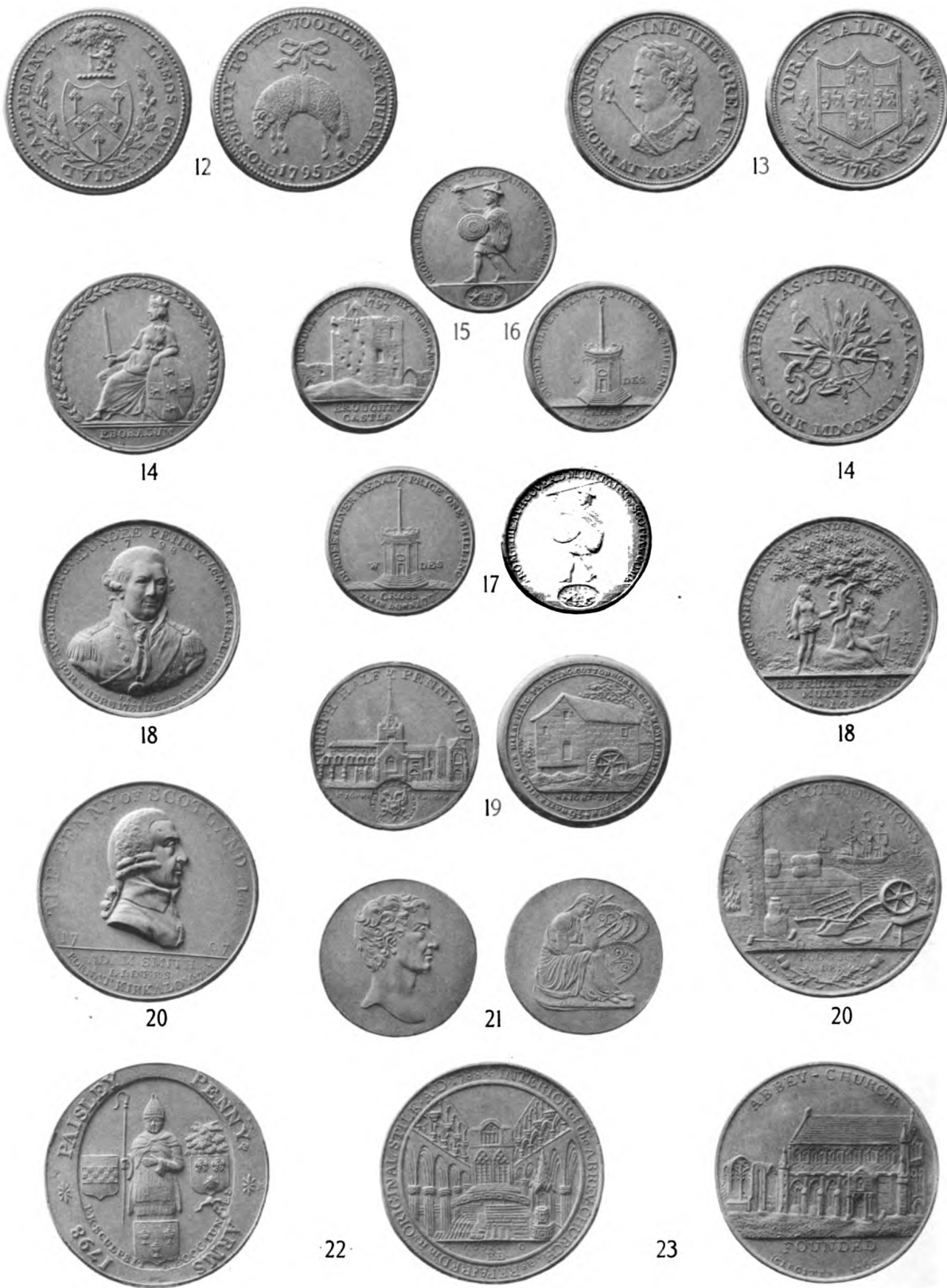
Pye states, and the writer of *The Bazaar Notes* repeats the statement, that, to make rare varieties, Birchall had some tokens struck with incorrect edges. These edge-readings are

PAYABLE IN ANGLESEY LONDON OR LIVERPOOL . X .
 PAYABLE BY H BROWNBILL SILVERSMITH.
 PAYABLE AT JOHN DOWNINGS HUDDERSFIELD.
 PAYABLE IN LANCASTER LONDON OR BRISTOL.
 MASONIC HALFPENNY TOKEN MDCCXCIV.
 BRIGHTON CAMP HALFPENNY MDCCXCIV.
 CHARLES HIDER'S and part milled.
 ARMIS TUTERIS BRADLEY WILLEY . X .
 Plain edge not in collar.

I do not, however, agree with this view so far as Birchall is concerned, for he does not record in his work any edge-reading other than that which is correctly applicable to his token ; but my opinion is, that the manufacturer was responsible for these extra edges as a private speculation. This view is supported by the previously quoted remark of the Rev. W. R. Hay in his notes on the Buxton halfpenny without date, viz., that he never could get a specimen, six only being struck when the die broke; but that Mr. Barker and Mr. Welch each got one. This proves that the die-sinker looked upon the dies as his property, and that he had the power to dispose of rare varieties where and how he thought fit.

Samuel Birchall was a member of the Society of Friends, and frequently corresponded with Mr. Hay, who refers to these letters in his notes. He was the author of *A descriptive list of the Provincial Copper Coins or Tokens issued between the years 1786 and 1796 by Samuel Birchall of Leeds, from the originals in his own possession.* It was printed at Leeds for S. Birchall, and sold by Henry Young, Ludgate Street, London, 1796.

He presented a copy to Mr. Hay, and another was given to me by his grandson. An engraving of his token, showing the correct edge-reading, appears on the title page. His large collection of coins and tokens passed to his descendants.



PRIVATE TOKENS.

PL. II.

YORK.

James Carlisle, of York, issued two varieties of halfpenny tokens, two hundred of each being struck.

1. *Obverse*.—Laureated bust of the Emperor to left; cuirassed and with eagle-surmounted sceptre in front.

Legend.—Upper, CONSTANTINE THE GREAT; lower, BORN AT YORK · A.D. 271.

Reverse.—The arms of the city of York between two oak branches joined below.

Legend.—YORK HALFPENNY. Below, 1796.

Edge-reading.—PAYABLE AT YORK ·X· ·X· ·X· ·X· ·X· ·X·
As the lettering is incuse and the token struck in a collar, this reading is frequently obliterated either in whole or in part.

2. *Obverse*.—Draped female figure seated to left, crowned with mural crown and holding sword in her right hand nearly upright before; her left arm rests on an oval shield bearing the arms of York; a wreath springing from the exergue, of oak leaves and acorns, surrounds the design in place of a legend.

Legend.—In exergue, EBORACUM.

Reverse.—A trophy composed of the cap of Liberty, the sword and scales of Justice and palm branches, emblematical of Peace.

Legend.—Upper, LIBERTAS. JUSTICIA. PAX, an ornament before and after. Lower, YORK MDCCXCVI.

Edge.—Plain, in collar. Fig. 14.

SCOTLAND.

ABERDEEN.

Atkins is responsible for the statement that the token described as the Aberdeen Token is “a rare private token.” There is nothing whatever to warrant this supposition in its general appearance, and as Sharp records it as being struck by or for Denton of London, the probability is that it was made to sell to collectors.

DUNDEE.

James Wright, junior, of Dundee, designed many tokens for Scottish tradesmen, and wrote the introduction to Denton's *Virtuoso's*

Companion headed "Observations on Coins." He also wrote the preface to Conder's work on tokens, and is said to have died in 1798. He was an ardent collector of tokens, and, under the name of "Civis," contributed to the pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

Whether the two I am about to describe were intended by Wright for private tokens, or for sale to collectors, I cannot state ; but Pye's notes inform us that they were not issued as currency.

1. *Obverse*.—View of a ruined castle.

Legend.—DUNDEE SHILLING PAY^{LE} BY J. WRIGHT . JUN^R
Above the castle the date 1797. In exergue, BROUGHTY
CASTLE in two lines.

Reverse.—Highlander with targe and raised claymore advancing to left.
In exergue, within a small sunk oval, the arms of Dundee.

Legend.—FROM THE HEATH COVERD MOUNTAINS OF
SCOTIA WE COME.

Edge.—Plain, in collar. Fig. 15. Struck in silver and copper.

2. *Obverse*.—View of a market cross ; on the left, W, on the right, DES.

Legend.—DUNDEE SILVER MEDAL PRICE ONE SHILLING.
In exergue, CROSS TAKEN DOWN 1777, in two lines.

Reverse and edge as No. 1. Fig. 16.

There is a variety of this from another pair of dies almost identical, but distinguishable in minor details. For example, on the obverse there is no stop after DES and the s is smaller than the other letters ; on the reverse, the first letter of the legend touches the ground and the claymore points to the letter T instead of A in MOUNTAINS. Fig. 17.

Wright designed the Dundee penny, which Atkins describes as a rare private token. It certainly was never made for currency, as it is in much too high relief. The designs of the obverse and reverse seem to bear no relation to each other.

Obverse.—Full-faced bust of Admiral Duncan. On the truncation to the left is the name of the die-sinker WYON ; below the bust P. K. FEC

Legend.—Upper, DUNDEE PENNY, below which is the date 1798.
Lower, ADM^L L^D DUNCAN BORN HERE 1731 DEFEAT^D THE
DUTCH FLEET 1797, a small star before and after.

Reverse.—Eve offering the apple to Adam beneath the tree of life, round which is coiled the serpent.

Legend.—23000 INHABITANTS IN DUNDEE VID STATISTICAL ACCOUNT BY R · SMALL · D · D · In exergue, BE FRUITFULL AND MULTIPLY. GEN. I.23.

Edge.—Plain, in collar. Fig. 18.

Whether these were Wright's private tokens or not, I cannot say ; certainly, the last described should be regarded as such.

Another token designed by Wright, and which also is described as a private token, is :—

Obverse.—View of a church. In exergue, within a sunk circle the arms of Perth.

Legend.—PERTH HALF PENNY, 1797. In exergue, to the left of the sunk circle S^r JOHN'S, to the right, CHURCH.

Reverse.—View of a mill with water-wheel.

Legend.—46 WATER MILLS FOR BLEACHING · PRINTING · COTTONWORKS · CORN &c WITHIN 4 MILES OF PERTH + In exergue, WRIGHT · DES :

Edge-reading.—PAYABLE ON DEMAND BY JOHN FERRIER + + + + in sunk letters. Struck in collar. Fig. 19.

Ferrier issued about a quarter of a ton of the tokens for currency, also designed by Wright, but of the private tokens only about seventy-two were struck, some being in silver.

R. Boog, junior, probably an architect, designed three tokens, all of which are rare, one being extremely so : this and the facts that the high relief would render them unfit for currency, and each piece would cost more than one penny in the striking alone, indicate that the object of issuing them must have been for private distribution. They are as follows :—

1. *Obverse.*—Bust to right in high relief wearing a peruke and costume of the period.

Legend.—THE PENNY OF SCOTLAND (1 OZ.) In exergue, ADAM SMITH L.L.D: F.R.S BORN AT KIRKALDY 1723. Above the exergual line, the date, to the left 17, to the right 97.

Reverse.—Trade and commerce illustrated by a smith's forge with anvil, two hammers and a horse-shoe ; a plough, harrow, spinning-wheel and shuttle ; a cask and bale waiting shipment on a landing-stage, and three ships in the offing.

Legend.—WEALTH OF NATIONS. In exergue, between two thistles crossed below, BOOG JUNR DES in two lines. In small letters following the curve of the rim and reading inwards P · KEMPSON FECIT.

Edge.—Plain, in collar. Fig. 20.

A profile head of Adam Smith, wearing his natural hair, appears on some small medals or tokens, of which very few were struck. The reverse represented a seated female figure, draped, lamenting over a trophy of arms. Signed J MILTON F on the ground work. No legend on either obverse or reverse ; edge plain. Fig. 21. The dies for these were cut to the order of Colonel Fullerton, afterwards Governor of the Island of Trinidad.

PAISLEY.

An exceedingly rare private token.

2. *Obverse.*—Within a sunken oval, the arms of the Borough of Paisley : within the oval, to the left, P·K· SCULPSIT ; to the right, R· BOOG, JUN DES.

Legend.—On a raised border PAISLEY PENNY ♂ ★ ARMS 1798 ★

Reverse.—Interior of the Abbey-church.

Legend.—Within an inner and outer circle, or rim, INTERIOR of the ABBEY-CHURCH. as REPAIRED in its ORIGINAL STILE. (sic) A·D· 1788 ✕

Edge.—Plain, in collar. Fig. 22.

3. *Obverse.*—View of the exterior of the same church, part in ruins.
Legend.—ABBEY-CHURCH. In exergue, FOUNDED (CIRCITER) 1160 in two lines.
Reverse and edge as No. 2. Fig. 23.

Wyon was the die-sinker of these three tokens, and Peter Kempson the manufacturer.

The writer of *The Bazaar Notes* states that the Priory of Paisley, of which the older part is all that now remains, was founded in 1160 by Walter, Lord High Steward of Scotland, and subsequently raised to the dignity of an Abbey. Under the auspices of the Rev. Robert Boog, D.D., probably the father of the designer and issuer of the tokens, the church was restored in 1788.

A specimen of the variety No. 2 was catalogued in Messrs. Spink's *Circular* for February, 1902, and another in the Norman Sale, 1903.

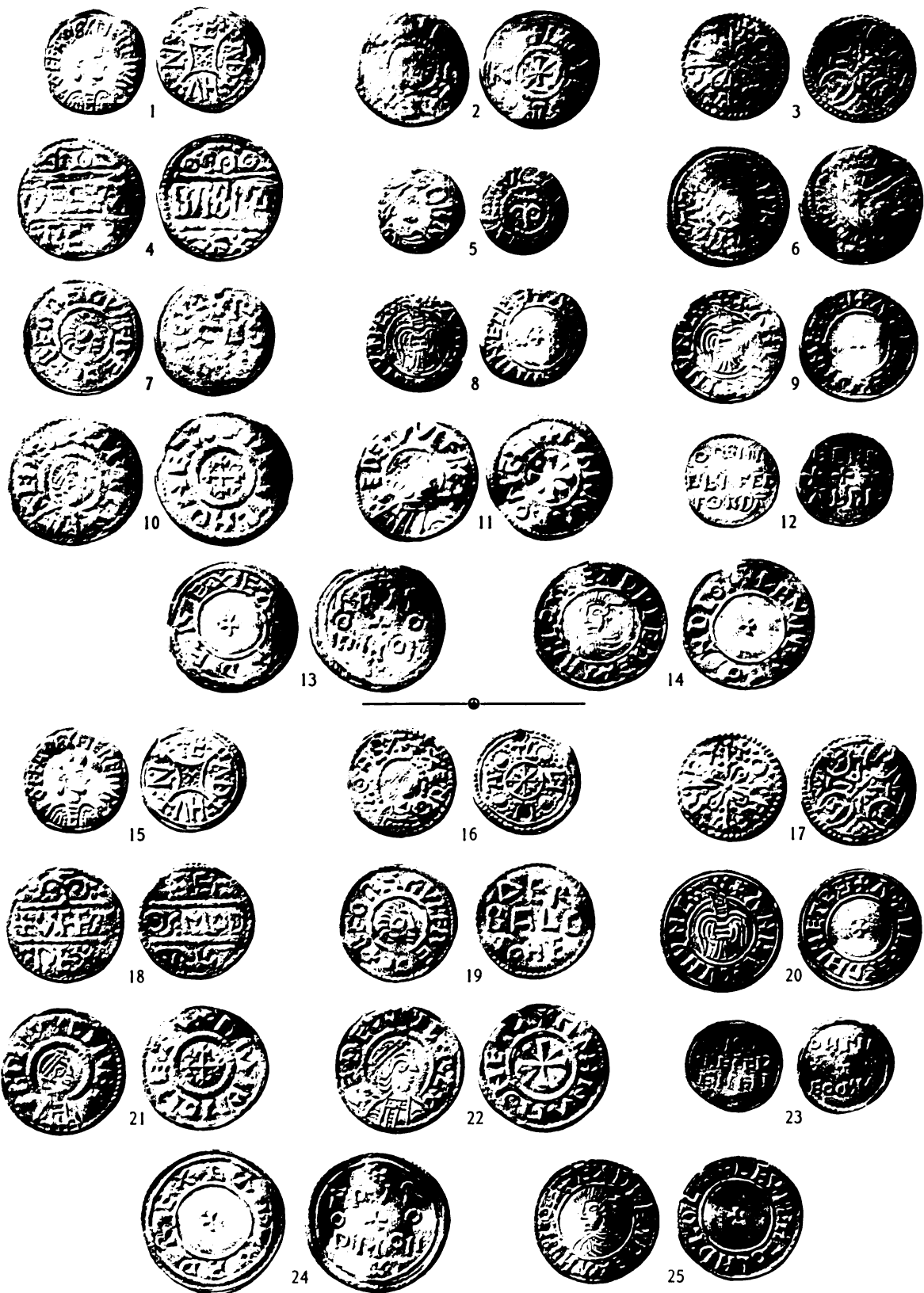
In the above account of private tokens, I have endeavoured to include all that were issued for private distribution or for exchange, and where any doubt might arise, I have ventured to give my reasons for their inclusion or exclusion.

To the example of David Alves Rebello, so well followed by his contemporaries, collectors of tokens are indebted for a most interesting and beautiful section of this branch of numismatics.

When we consider the number who issued these early private specimens, as compared with the few, who towards the end of the last century added their quota, are we to regard the later collectors as being less enthusiastic ; for, as one who wrote to me on the subject stated, " It cannot be modesty that prevents them " ?

A circumstance in favour of the earlier issuers was the fact that they lived in the token-issuing period, and in several instances, not far from that home of die-sinkers, Birmingham. At the present time, some would be deterred from the effort by fear of appearing singular, or being regarded as presumptive, and the adoption of a design would offer no small obstacle to others.

It really is remarkable how most of us fail to rise to an occasion if it is out of the common line.



FORGERIES OF ANGLO-SAXON COINS, Nos. 1-14, AND THE ORIGINALS
FROM WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN COPIED, Nos. 15-25. PI. I.
VIII.—X. CENTURIES

FORGERY IN RELATION TO NUMISMATICS.

By L. A. LAWRENCE, *Director.*

(*Continued.*)

PLATE I.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF FORGERIES OF ANGLO-SAXON COINS.

No. 1. Penny of Offa ; moneyer EADHVN. Probably a fine cast from No. 15 on the same plate.

No. 2. Penny of Offa ; moneyer LVLLA. A cast : a genuine coin of the same type is shown as No. 16.

No. 3. Penny of Offa ; moneyer HEABER[HT]. A very doubtful coin, possibly a cast from the genuine example, No. 17. A careful examination of the obverse will disclose a number of cut channels round the outside ring of dots ; these do not appear on the original. The coin is, moreover, too heavy by several grains.

No. 4. Penny of Offa ; moneyer BABBA. Another very doubtful piece, somewhat resembling the genuine coin, No. 18.

No. 5. Penny of Cynethryth, Offa's Queen ; moneyer EOB. False dies.

No. 6. Penny of Æthilheard, Archbishop of Canterbury ; reverse, GOENVVLF REX. False dies.

No. 7. Penny of Beornwulf ; moneyer PERBALD. A cast from a genuine coin, as No. 19.

No. 8. Penny of Anlaf ; moneyer ADELFERD. False dies ; a genuine specimen is figured as No. 20.

No. 9. Penny of Anlaf ; same moneyer and type. Probably a cast from No. 20.

No. 10. Penny of Æthelwulf ; moneyer DARA. A cast ; compare No. 21, which is an original piece.

No. 11. Penny of Æthelwulf ; moneyer MANNA. False dies ; a very poor attempt. See original, No. 22.

No. 12. Halfpenny of Ælfred ; Oxford type, moneyer BERNVALD. False dies. No. 23 represents a genuine coin.

No. 13. Penny of Eadred ; moneyer **FRARD**. A fine cast, possibly from the genuine coin shown as No. 24.

No. 14. Penny of Eadwig already described¹ ; moneyer **LEYIG**. Copied and altered from the genuine coin of Eadweard the Martyr. No. 25.

PLATE II.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF FORGERIES OF COINS OF HAROLD II. AND WILLIAM I.-II.

The coins figured on this plate, and numbered from 26 to 37, are arranged regardless of the sequence of issue of the originals, but so as to trace the fabrication of one from the other. Those numbered from 38 to 47, which do not constitute in any way a connected series, are placed in what is considered the correct order of issue of the coins of the time.

No. 26. Penny of Harold II. The reverse reads **LEOFVILD OM LEPE**, and is another and better specimen of a forgery already described.² False dies.

No. 27. Penny of William I.; reverse from the same die as the preceding coin, No. 26. Numbered and figured as 224 in the sale catalogue of the second portion of Mr. Montagu's coins. The irregularities of surface and little faults can be seen to be identical on both reverses.

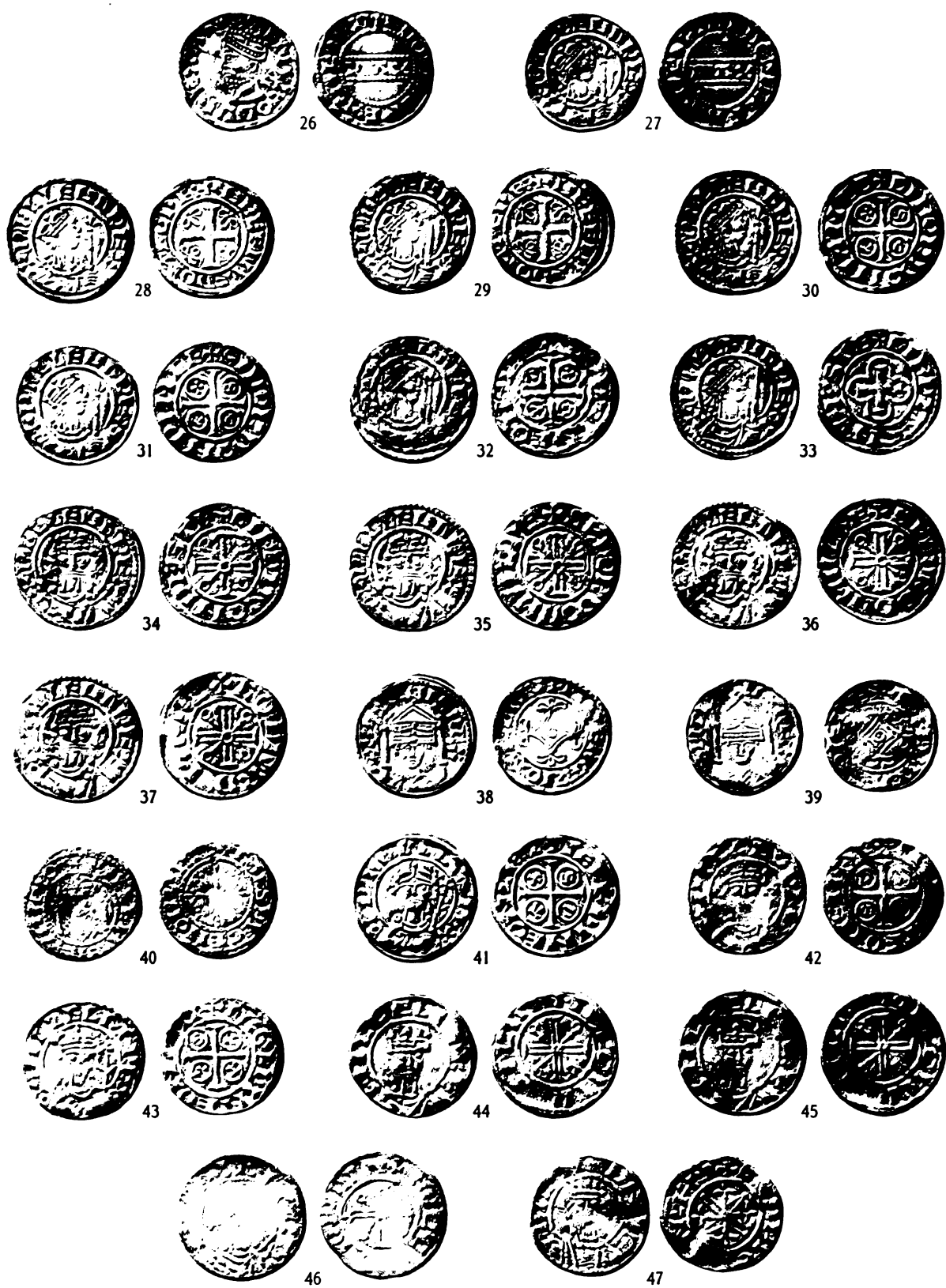
No. 28. Penny of William I.; obverse from the same die as No. 27; reverse legend **LEEFVILD OM LEPE**. The **O** in the moneyer's name on the previous coin has been altered to an **E**, otherwise the letters of the legend are from the same die. No. 220 of the same catalogue. A genuine coin is shown on Plate V, No. 100.

No. 29. Penny of William I.; obverse from the same die as No. 28, but the sceptre in the king's hand has been altered to a sword, two tassels added below the crown and an **I** at the end of the legend; reverse from the same die as No. 28. No. 248 of the same catalogue.

No. 30. Penny of William I.; obverse from the same die as Nos. 27 and 28; reverse from that of the ordinary pax type; legend **LIFORD ON LINCO**. No. 225 of the same catalogue. A genuine coin is shown on Plate V, No. 101.

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ii, p. 406.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 407, No. 76.



FORGERIES OF COINS OF HAROLD II. AND WILLIAM I.-II. PI. II.

No. 31. Penny of William I.; obverse from the same die as No. 30; reverse legend, **SIPORD ON PINCE**. The reverse is also from the same die as No. 30, but two letters in the moneyer's name and two in the mint name have been changed: thus **S. P. P. E.** have been substituted for **L. F. L. O.** No. 226 of the same catalogue. Another coin of this series, not figured, represents the obverse of No. 29, in which the sword is rather longer, with the reverse of No. 30. No. 249 of the same catalogue.

No. 32. Penny of William I.; obverse from the same die as No. 31, reverse legend, **GODPINE ON SIERBI**. The piece is in poor condition, and the identical marks are a little more difficult to trace.

No. 33. Penny of William II.; obverse from the same die as the unfigured piece; reverse, cross within quatrefoil; legend, **LIFDIN ON LESTE**. An example of a rare original coin is Plate V, No. 103.

No. 34. Penny of William II.; obverse, front face between two stars; reverse, cross voided on cross terminating in annulets; legend, **LIFDIN ON LESTE**. Lettering from the same die as No. 33. The genuine coin is numbered Plate V, 104.

No. 35. Penny of William II.; obverse from the same die as No. 34; reverse from the same die as No. 34, except that the legend is **SEPORD ON MALME**.

No. 36. Penny of William II.; obverse and reverse from the same dies as No. 35. The reverse legend appears to have rather smaller letters.

No. 37. Penny of William II. Both sides from the same dies as No. 36, except that the reverse legend is **GODARD PINRE**, the word **ON** being omitted.

The last coin of this series, not illustrated, is from the same obverse and reverse dies as the last described, except that the legend reads **LEEFVILD OM LEPE**. This lettering is from the die of No. 28.

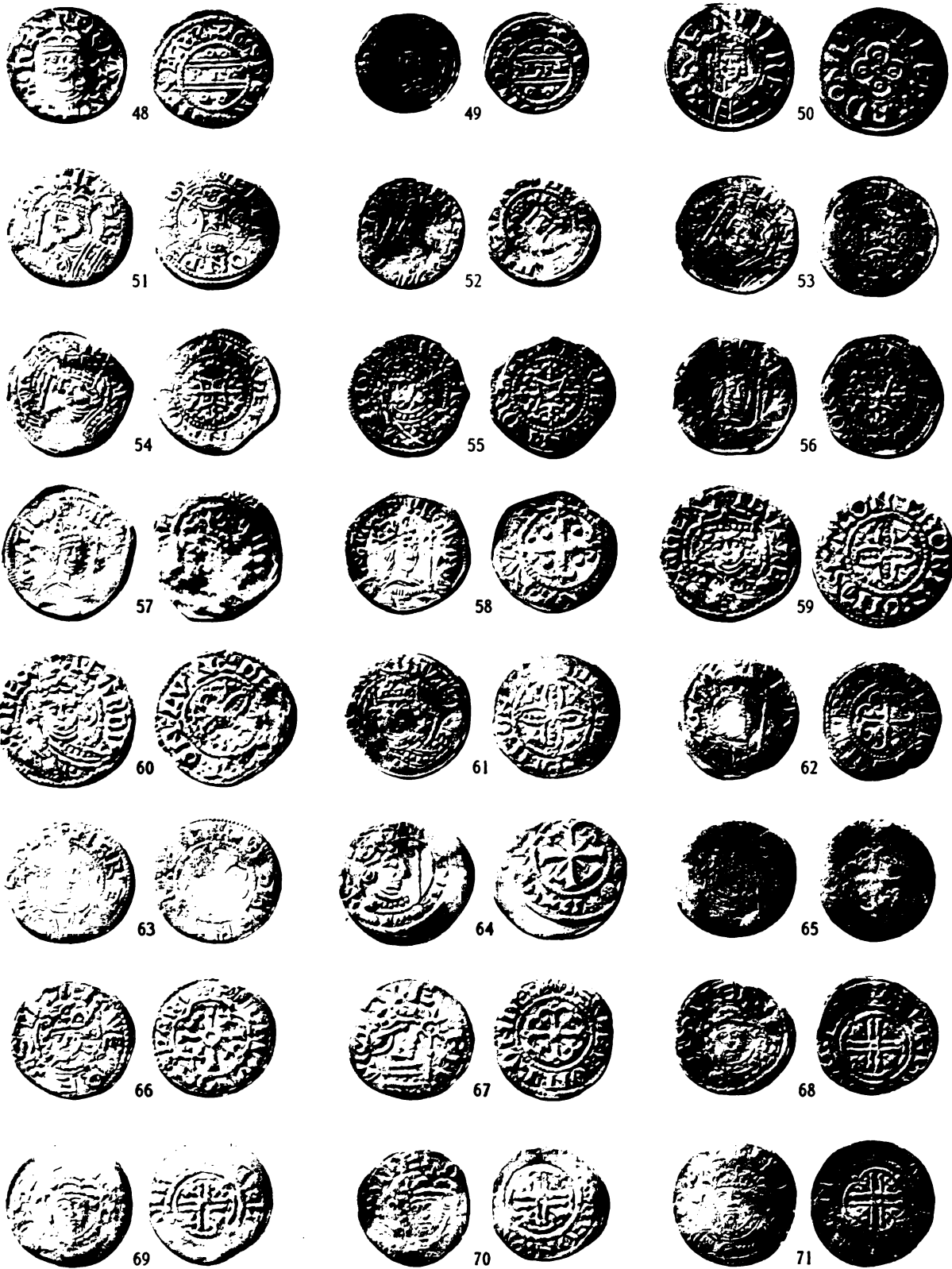
Nearly all the coins of this series show marked evidence of overstriking. When the original piece can be discerned it is in every case a paxs penny. The overstriking is most clear on the specimens of the last type, Nos. 34-37.

The remarkable series of pennies of William I. and II. just described deserves more than the slight notice appended to most of the forgeries in the list. Previous to 1897 all the coins passed muster as genuine pieces, and most of them brought long prices at the sales and had correspondingly long pedigrees. It was only when

the series was examined as a series and the individual examples were compared with one another that the full evidence of their falseness was displayed. The subject was fully discussed by the writer and the coins for the first time exposed in a paper published in *The Numismatic Chronicle*,¹ Third Series, vol. xvii, so that only a brief reference is now necessary to guide the reader in estimating the exceeding cunning of the maker of these forgeries.

The first of the series is the coin of Harold II., No. 26 : two examples of it are known, both, of course, from the same dies for both sides. A careful examination, even of the plate, will show a number of marks which look like scratches or tool marks in the field of the reverse. On both coins these marks are identical, and therefore the die is responsible for them : they are not in any way due to bad usage. The same marks appear on the coin of William, No. 27, bearing the same reverse ; this, then, is also struck from the same reverse die. On these pieces the legend is **LEOFVILD OM LEPE**. The centre of the **O** in the moneyer's name is filled in ; **OM** is substituted for **ON**. These last-mentioned peculiarities exist on a genuine coin of Harold II. in the British Museum. The name, however, is **LEOFFARD**, not **LEOFVILD**. The last four letters might possibly suggest to an inexperienced person **VILD**, as they are not very clear, but **LEOFFARD** is a well-known Saxon name, and **LEOFVILD** is unknown, at any rate on the coins, and probably anywhere else. The presence of the **V** as a **V** is in the highest degree unlikely, as half a **W** it would probably not exist when **W** was represented by **P**. The name, therefore, and the filled in **O** and the **OM** for **ON** show pretty clearly how this coin had its origin, and that the prototype is the genuine example in the Museum. The coin has always been condemned by able numismatologists. It follows that the coin of William with the reverse from the same die is equally false. The next coin, No. 28, bears an obverse struck from the same die as the William, No. 27, and is, therefore, again false. The lettering has been slightly altered : thus the ugly and filled in **O** has been changed to an **E**, but in other respects the legend remains, even to the **OM**.

¹ 1897, pp. 226-234.



FORGERIES OF COINS OF HENRY I., MATILDA, AND STEPHEN.

PL. III.

This altered reverse die is now used to strike another coin, No. 29, in which the first William obverse die is again used, but the sceptre has been changed for a sword. A stroke has also been added at the end of the legend, and two little tassels now appear hanging from the crown. On the coins which follow, Nos. 30, 31, 32, and 33, the connection is obvious. No. 33 bears the legend **LIFDIN ON LESTE**. The name **LIFDIN** is not known to exist, and is open to the same objections as was **LEOFVILD**. The spelling of the mint name, whether meant for Chester or Leicester, is equally inadmissible. The connection between the coins that follow, Nos. 34, 35, 36, and 37, with the earlier members of the series would not, at first sight, appear so plain, but the fortunate use of the legend on No. 33 to produce No. 34 makes it apparent, and again the use of the legend **LEEFVILD OM LEPE** belonging to No. 28, found on the reverse of the unfigured coin, settles the matter. The series as a whole, therefore, shows four features : 1. Descent from a concoction. 2. The use, in whole or in part, of the same dies. 3. Overstriking.¹ 4. Unknown originals. The use of a genuine coin as a flan is obviously to obtain an ancient surface, a correct edge, and the true weight.

No. 38. Penny of William I., canopy type ; reverse legend, **PINERÆD ON LÆPEI**. A cast from a genuine coin such as is shown on Plate V, No. 98.

No. 39. Penny of William I. of the same type ; reverse legend, **ÆGELRIC ÆTÐÆRE**. A cast.

No. 40. Penny of William I., two sceptres type ; reverse legend, **COLSPEGEN ON LVN**. Cast from a genuine piece. An original coin is figured on Plate V., No. 99.

No. 41. Penny of William I., **PAXS** type ; reverse legend, **IELFPINE ON CRIL**. False dies. Compare the genuine coin, Plate V., No. 102. This forgery is known in gold, silver, copper, lead, aluminium, and nickel. There is a minute and incuse **ƿ**, for *false*, in the first quarter of the cross which commences the reverse legend. The false dies are to be seen in the British Museum.

No. 42. Penny of William I., **PAXS** type ; reverse legend, probably, **ALDOVF ON SVÐE**. A cast from a genuine coin.

¹ As to the distinctions between original and false overstriking, see *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. iii, p. 105.

No. 43. Penny of William I., same type; reverse legend, **IEGLPINE ON PAL**. Also a cast from an original specimen.

No. 44. Penny of William II., bust between two stars; reverse legend, **ALGAR ON LVN**. Struck in lead.

No. 45. Penny of William II., of the same type and metal.

These two coins are from the same dies, and, except for the metal, would be considered original coins. They were found together, and, it is believed, with genuine coins of the period. It is not known why these leaden examples were struck. They were probably not intended for money, but only as working patterns, or examples, to be attached to documents referring to the making of the dies. The metal they are made of is the sole cause of their being included in this list.

No. 46. Penny of William II. of the same type as No. 45; reverse legend, probably, **FOLCIERD ON LIN**. A cast.

No. 47. Penny of William II., star and sceptre type; reverse legend, **ORDPI ON HERFRD**. Struck in lead.

The remarks made under No. 45 equally refer also to this coin. A silver and genuine coin is shown on Plate V, No. 105, and is, apparently, from the same dies.

PLATE III.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF FORGERIES OF COINS OF HENRY I., MATILDA AND STEPHEN.

No. 48. Penny of Henry I. of the **PAX** type; reverse legend, **OSBERN ON SEAR**. False dies. The result is pretty but not deceptive.

No. 49. Penny of Henry I., same type; reverse legend, probably, **OSBERN ON SERI**. A cast from a genuine coin as shown on Plate V, No. 106.

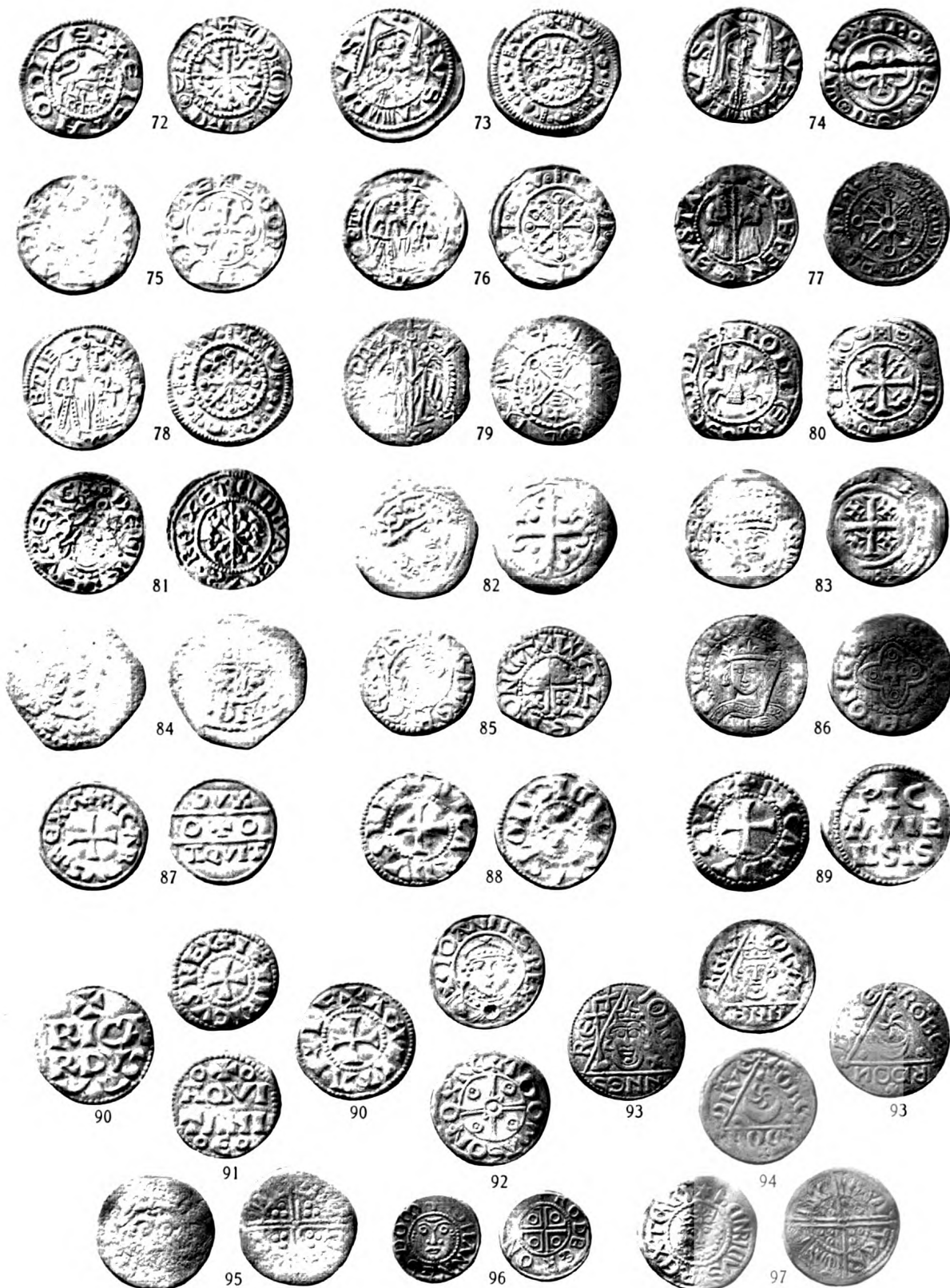
No. 50. Penny of Henry I., front face with sceptre; reverse legend, **LEFPARD ON LVN**. False dies; a poor attempt. Compare the genuine coin, Plate V, No. 107.

No. 51. Penny of Henry I., bust to left with sceptre; reverse legend, **OSBERN ON PELLIGE**. False dies, the lettering very poor.

No. 52. Penny of Henry I., same type; reverse legend, **LEFPINE ON SVTP**. A cast from a genuine coin.

The following series of coins, numbered 53 to 58 and 67, were also the subject of an article by the present writer in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.¹ They present the same remarkable features which

¹ 1899, pp. 241-250.



FORGERIES OF COINS OF THE REIGN OF STEPHEN, DAVID OF SCOTLAND, HENRY II., RICHARD I., JOHN, AND HENRY III. PL. IV.

characterised the early William series above described, and are all connected together by the use of the same dies for either obverse or reverse. The obviously false coins are those of the Empress Matilda and the connection between these and the Henry coins is through the reverse of No. 56, which is reproduced on No. 55. No. 67 is shown to belong to the same series by bearing the words **OSWEF ON** from the same die as other members of the series. Overstriking¹ is apparent on most of them, but the coins which were used for the purpose are in many cases not recognisable.

No. 53. Penny of Henry I., same type as No. 52; reverse, **OSWEF ON PE . . . GL**. False dies. A genuine coin is figured on Plate V, No. 108.

No. 54. Penny of Henry I.; obverse from the same die as No. 53; reverse, the type of the last issue of Henry I., viz., three-quarter bust and sceptre; legend, **OSWEF ON NORHÆ**. The moneyer's name and **ON** from the same die as No. 53.

An unfigured coin of Henry I. has obverse and reverse as No. 52, but the reverse legend, **OSWEF ON NORHÆ**, is from the die of No. 54.

No. 55. Penny of Henry I., with three-quarter bust and sceptre. The obverse legend, **HENRICVS R**, is from the same die as Nos. 53 and 54; reverse, the whole is from the same die as No. 54. A genuine coin is shown on Plate V, No. 110.

No. 56. Coin of the Empress Matilda; obverse legend, **MATILDE REGINA AN**; reverse from the same die as Nos. 54 and 55.

No. 57. Coin of the Empress Matilda; obverse from the same die as No. 56; reverse copied from the first coinage of Henry II.; legend illegible.

No. 58. Penny of the Empress Matilda; obverse from the same die as Nos. 56 and 57; reverse copied from a Scottish coin of Malcolm or David I.; legend illegible, as are most on the genuine coins. An authentic coin of Matilda is figured on Plate V, No. 112. It will be noticed that the type is entirely different.

Another coin connected with this series, though purporting to belong to King Stephen, must be considered here, as it is made by partial use of the same reverse die. Like the other coins of the series,

¹ See previous note, p. 285.

it is overstruck. It is No. 67 : Penny of King Stephen with horseman's mace ; reverse legend **OSWEF ON LVNDE**. The first portion, **OSWEF ON**, from the same die as Nos. 53, 54, 55 and 56. The unique original coin is figured on Plate V, No. 113.

No. 59. Penny of Henry I., front face with sceptre, star at side of head ; the reverse belonging to this coin has, unfortunately, been transposed on the plate with that belonging to No. 60 : it reads **DE . . . N ON LVN**. False dies.

No. 60. Penny of Richard I. of the same type and placed here on account of the extreme resemblance of the work. The reverse shown, here connected with No. 59, reads **LEORIC ON ASALON**. A concoction.

No. 61. Penny of Henry I., same type ; reverse legend, probably, **BLADEMAN ON LVN**. Copied from a genuine coin such as is shown on Plate V, No. 109.

No. 62. Penny of Stephen, profile and sceptre ; reverse, cross and tressure fleured internally ; legend, **ROBERD ON LE**. False dies. Compare the original, Plate V, No. 111.

No. 63. Penny of Stephen, same type ; reverse legend, **OSBER ON PEL**. False dies.

An unfigured forgery is known, of which the obverse is of the same type as No. 63, and the reverse of the type shown on No. 55, the reverse legend being **ALGAR ON LVND**. The coins, of which five examples are known, are made of copper, heavily plated with silver, and they are contemporary forgeries. A moneyer of this name had been fined late in the previous reign for making false coin, and these are probably his productions.¹ The work is perfect.

No. 64. Penny of Stephen, obverse same type ; reverse, cross pattée over cross fleury, ornaments and letters in the place of a legend, and struck over another coin. False dies. Copied from the original on Plate VI, No. 115.

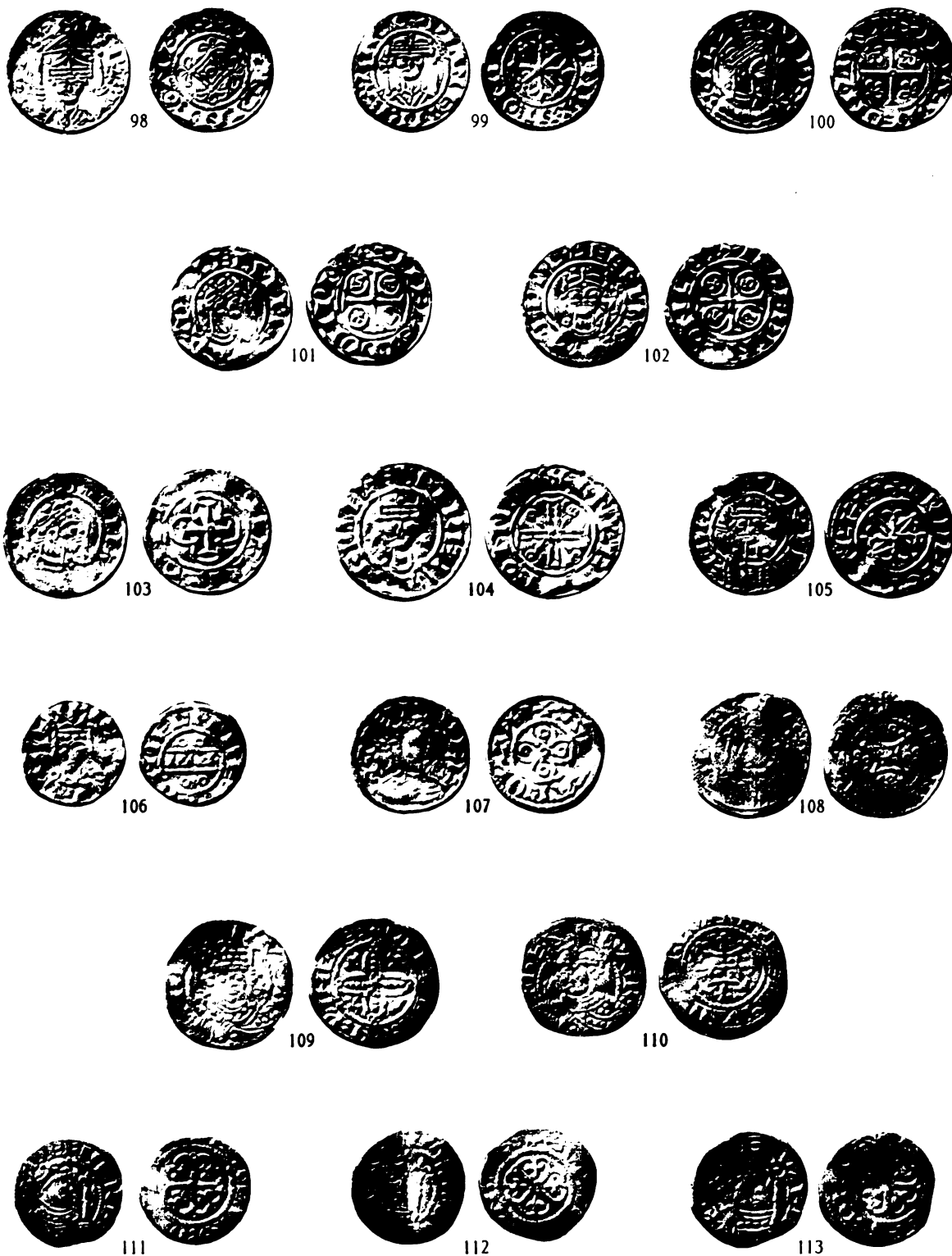
No. 65. Penny of Stephen ; profile with flag in place of sceptre ; reverse as No. 62 ; legend illegible. False dies. Not at all a dangerous forgery. An original coin is shown on Plate VI, No. 114.

No. 66. Penny of Stephen, full face ; reverse, cross potent, fleurs in the angles as shown on No. 62 ; legend, **PILLIM ON PARI**. False dies. An original is shown on Plate VI, No. 121.

No. 67. Already described under No. 58.

No. 68. Penny of Stephen, three-quarter face and sceptre ; reverse,

¹ *A Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I.*, by W. J. Andrew, pp. 283-284, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1901.



COINS OF WILLIAM I. AND II., HENRY I., STEPHEN, AND MATILDA,
FROM WHICH FORGERIES HAVE BEEN COPIED. PI. V.
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cross voided, fleurs in the angles; legend, **ALFR[IL] ON NOR.**
Cast from a genuine coin.

No. 69. Penny of Stephen, same type; reverse, legend illegible.
Cast from a genuine coin.

No. 70. Penny of Stephen, same type; reverse, legend not clear,
a cast.

No. 71. Penny of Stephen, same type; reverse, legend **PÆIN
ON LINCO.** False dies. The genuine type is shown on Plate VI,
No. 122.

Nos. 53, 54 and 55, at one time passed as genuine coins.

PLATE IV.

FORGERIES OF COINS OF THE REIGN OF STEPHEN, OF DAVID OF SCOTLAND, HENRY II., RICHARD I., JOHN AND HENRY III.

No. 72. Penny of Eustace Fitz-John of the lion type; reverse
escarbuncle fleury, ornaments in place of letters. False dies, struck on
another coin. An original coin is shown on Plate VI, No. 118.

No. 73. Penny of Eustace of the mailed-figure type; reverse,
escarbuncle fleury of four plain limbs and four engrailed limbs,
ornaments in place of legend; struck on another coin. False dies:
an invention.

No. 74. Penny of Eustace; obverse, same type; reverse, cross in
quatrefoil, ornaments and letters in place of legend. False dies.

No. 75. Penny of Eustace, same type, but the reverse is rather
differently treated; legend, **EBORACI EDOTZ.** False dies. An
original is figured on Plate VI, No. 119.

No. 76. Penny of Stephen and Matilda, struck in lead. The coin
has the appearance of a genuine piece, but the metal is certainly lead.
See *ante*, Nos. 44 and 47; also compare Plate VI, No. 117, for an
original silver penny.

No. 77. Penny of the same type as No. 76. False dies; a very
poor attempt.

No. 78. Penny of the same type. The reverse is from the same
die as the reverse of No. 73; overstruck on another coin. False dies.

No. 79. Penny of the same type struck in lead. False dies; not
at all deceptive.

No. 80. Penny of Robert de Stuteville; reverse, cross pattée
over cross fleury, ornaments in place of legend. False dies; struck
over another coin. Another example of this forgery is known
from the same dies, and struck over a short-cross penny. The rare
original is shown on Plate VI, No. 120.

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No. 81. Penny of Henry, Bishop of Winchester ; reverse, cross pattée, fleurs de lys in the angles ; reverse, legend **STEPHANVS REX**. False dies ; struck over a short-cross penny. The cross voided with small crosses in the angles, and AD of the moneyer's name on the coin used as the flan, are clearly visible. An original coin is shown on Plate VI, No. 116.

No. 82. Penny of David I. of Scotland. False dies. This forgery is included here only in its relation to Stephen ; it is well done, and as the obverse types used by the two monarchs are practically the same, possibly the die may have been used for the production of a forgery of Stephen.

No. 83. Penny of Henry II., full face and sceptre ; reverse, cross potent with small crosses in the angles ; legend not complete. A cast from a genuine coin, such as is shown on Plate VI, No. 123.

No. 84. Penny of Henry II., short-cross type ; reverse, legend illegible. Struck in brass ; a contemporary forgery. A genuine coin is shown on Plate VI, No. 124.

No. 85. Penny of Richard I. ; obverse, legend **RICHARDVS REX** ; reverse, legend **WALTER ON CT**. False dies, an invention.

No. 86. Penny of Richard I., full face with sceptre ; reverse, quatrefoil enclosing cross and annulets ; legend not clear. False dies, a concoction.

No. 87.	} Coins of Richard I. of the Anglo-Gallic series. All from false dies. Two originals are shown on Plate VI, Nos. 125 and 126.
No. 88.	
No. 89.	
No. 90.	
No. 91.	

No. 92. Penny of John, full face with little sceptre ; legend, **IOHANNES REX** ; reverse, cross voided with annulet in each angle ; legend, **TOMAS ON OXING**. False dies, an invention.

No. 93. Penny of John, Irish type. A cast.

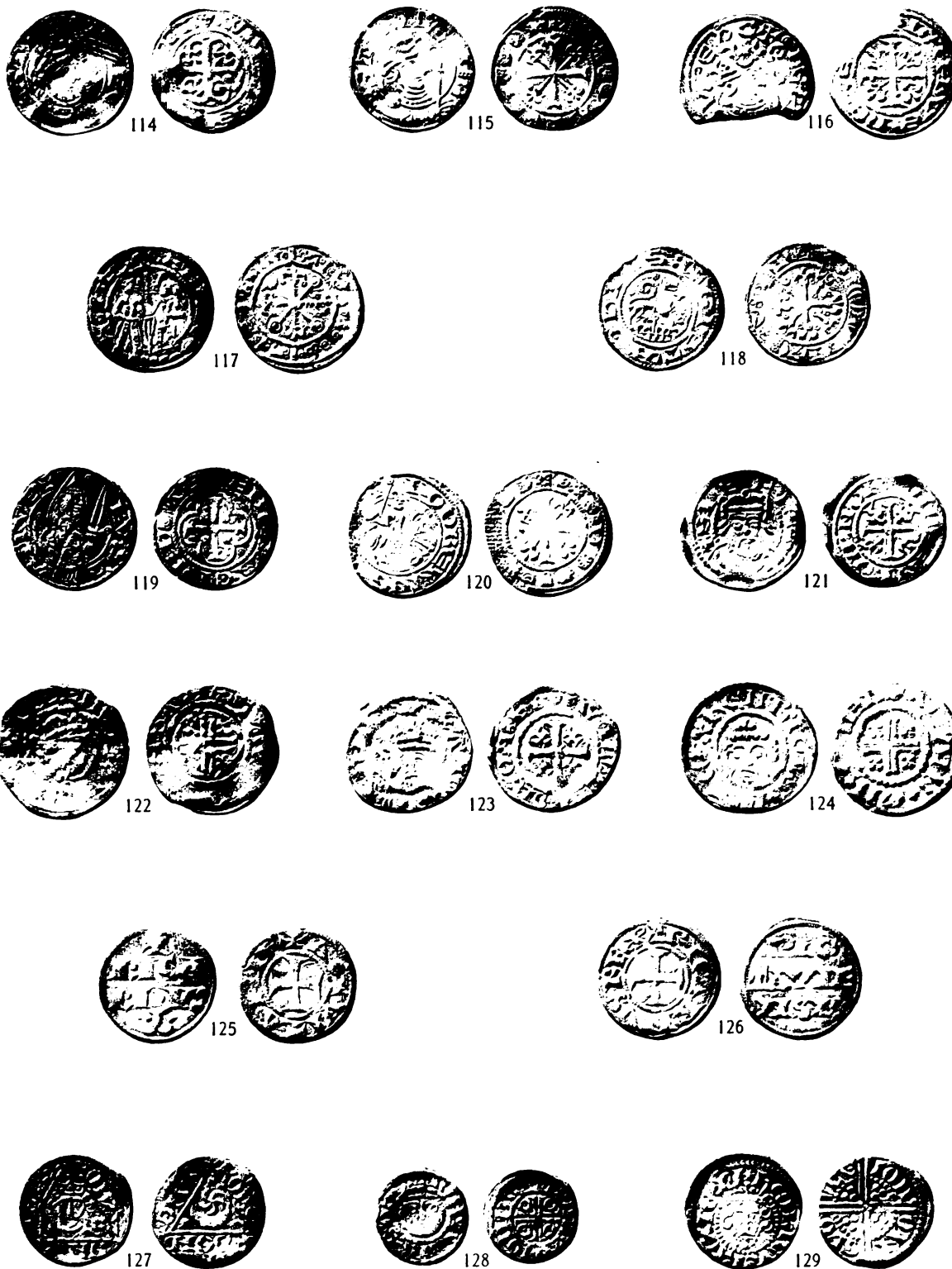
No. 94. Penny of John, same type. A cast. A genuine coin is shown on Plate VI, No. 127.

No. 95. Penny of Henry III., long-cross type ; legend not clear. Struck in brass ; a contemporary forgery.

No. 96. Halfpenny of John, Irish type. False dies. Compare the genuine coin shown on Plate VI, No. 128.

No. 97. Penny of Henry III., long-cross type ; reverse legend, **WALTER ON LIND**. False dies ; struck in lead. An original is shown on Plate VI, No. 129.

Nos. 72, 73, 78, 80 and 81 have all passed as genuine coins in times happily now passed.



COINS OF THE REIGN OF STEPHEN, HENRY II., RICHARD I., JOHN,
AND HENRY III., FROM WHICH FORGERIES HAVE BEEN COPIED.

PI. VI.

ART AND THE COINS OF ENGLAND.

BY H. ALEXANDER PARSONS.

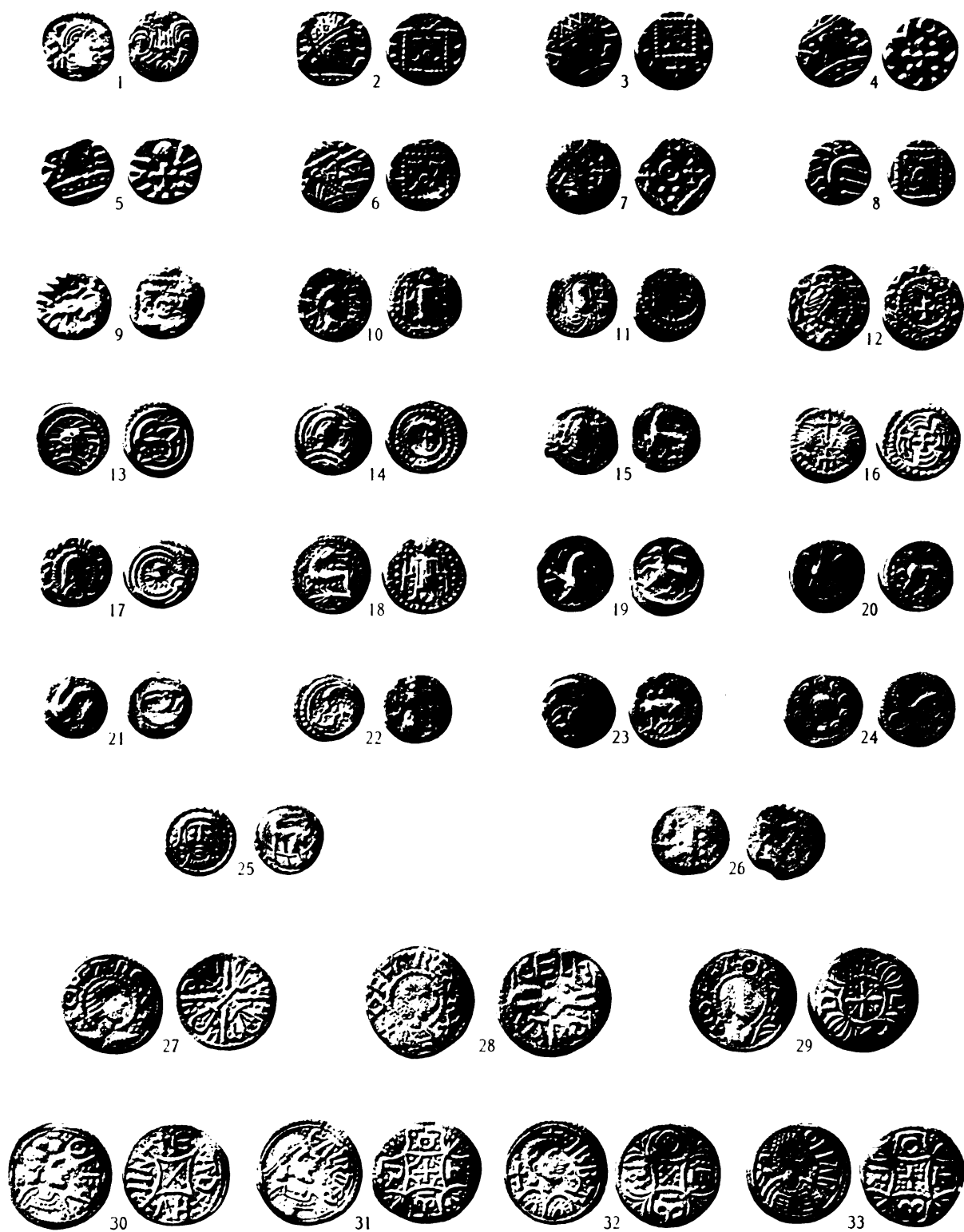
FROM very early times coins have been favourite vehicles for artistic expression, and in them lies the advantage, rare in painting, sculpture, or even bronze statuary, of examples of art being handed down to us unmutilated and unaffected by the ravages of time. Much has been written upon, and more said about the subject of art as shown on the coins of the ancient Greeks and Romans ; but little attention appears to have been given to this aspect of later numismatics, at any rate as applied to the coins of our own country.

So far as I am aware, the classification of the whole body of English coins, from the point of view of the art expressed on them, has not before been attempted, although isolated groups have from time to time been studied in this way. Probably the main reason for this is, that until comparatively recent times, during which mediæval art began to assert its claims and have its influence, all art, whether in architecture, sculpture, painting, or engraving, had followed classic models. It must also be remembered that it was not until the revival of letters and the arts in the fifteenth century, that art, equal to that of the old classic masters, commenced to reappear, whether on coins or in painting and sculpture. Its decline in the middle ages was accelerated, if not mainly caused, by the irruptions, in the fourth and fifth centuries, of the northern barbarians into the plains of Italy where the art of Western Europe flourished ; and subsequently the fury of the Iconoclasts, or image-breakers, in the eighth and ninth centuries did for art in the Eastern Empire what it had already suffered in Western Europe. In a first essay, therefore, on the art of British numismatics, it would be idle to claim more than an attempt to approach the

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subject; and although it will deal with the whole volume of the currency of this country, the details given in the various periods will probably be capable of considerable expansion. As far as possible, references to the historical side of the coinage will be avoided, although it will be necessary to stray in that direction when speaking of designs, more especially of those on the early coins.

The earliest numismatic monuments of Britain are those attributed to the ancient Britons before their subjugation by the Romans. See *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. i, Plate, p. 354. It would be interesting if it could be shown that these rude coins were fashioned after designs evolved by our British forefathers, but there is no doubt that they are indirect copies of the gold staters of Philip II., King of Macedon, the father of Alexander the Great. These Macedonian staters, or "Philips," as they were afterwards called, being celebrated for their full weight and purity, not only superseded all other Greek gold coins then in existence, but were also extensively copied by the barbaric nations. They were first imitated in Sicily, then in Italy and Gaul, and finally in Britain; in every stage becoming less like the original, so that, although the relation of the British gold coins to those of Macedon is apparent when the transitional types are also compared, it would otherwise be difficult to believe that the crude and barbarous productions of the Britons had anything in common with the beautiful coins of Macedon. See illustrations, *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ii, p. 2. Even in the crude imitations of the Britons, however, there are traces of a fall and rise in art. They appear to have been executed with constantly diminishing skill, until the influence of the Romans improved their workmanship. They reached their highest state of perfection in the coins of Cunobeline, who reigned over Central and Eastern Britain from about A.D. 5 to A.D. 41. Shortly after his death the issue of British coins altogether ceased, owing to the substitution of Roman money as the circulating medium. The date at which a distinct metallic currency was introduced into Britain is variously estimated as from 200 B.C. to 150 B.C. Hence the first class of coins which circulated in this country lasted for a period of about two hundred years, and, as we



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PL. I.

have seen, was originally based upon a Greek model, but subsequently influenced by the art of Rome.

It would be foreign to our subject to consider the Roman coinage which constituted the next class of metallic currency issued in this country, however interesting it might be to the student of Roman art. Magnus Maximus, who died in A.D. 388, was, perhaps, the last of the Roman Emperors to strike coins in Britain, but Roman money continued to circulate in this country, probably long after the final departure of the Romans, between A.D. 400 and A.D. 430. As may be imagined, the coinage of Britain immediately succeeding this period is involved in much obscurity, and it is difficult to say when Roman money was superseded by coins of native workmanship. The connecting link between the Roman money and Saxon coins struck by kings known to history is the class of money called sceattas. Plate I. Nos. 1-26. The origin and time of issue of these coins have not yet been definitely ascertained, although some of the later series have been identified with the princes and ecclesiastics who issued them, nor is it within the scope of this treatise to enquire; but their period of circulation would seem to have extended from about the commencement of the seventh until nearly the close of the eighth centuries. They exhibit more numerous designs than any subsequent group of coins, whether English or foreign, and they are divisible into two main classes: the first, comprising coins bearing designs which are imitations of Roman types, and the second comprising those the designs on which indicate purely native ideas. The latter, which are the more interesting to us, bear representations of fantastic animals, whorl-patterns and numerous ornaments, similar to those which adorn early Irish and Saxon manuscripts and, in later times, appear in our earliest architecture. The origin of some of these designs on the Saxon sceattas is obvious. In others it is fairly easy to suggest prototypes; but in many imagination is as yet at fault. Nevertheless, elucidation of the types of these interesting coins is not impossible, and careful comparison of a large series of them would probably tell the tale. It is suggested that many of the designs on them are more original than is generally supposed. Hitherto most of the types have

been attributed to Roman influence, but the explanation of many should be sought in the pagan-Christian overlap, which resulted in the assimilation of pagan symbols to those of the Christian faith. The strangled wolves, the writhing dragons and serpents of Scandinavian art, to some degree depicted on the sceattas, represent the portentous struggle which, according to Scandinavian mythology, waged between the powers of darkness and the northern gods and ended in the destruction of Valhalla. The chief interest in the series lies in its being the earliest monument extant of native Saxon work; and although it cannot be said to have much artistic merit from our point of view, yet it is undoubtedly useful in tracing the evolution of design.

The next class of metallic currency which circulated in this country consisted of the well-known series of Saxon silver pennies, which was introduced towards the close of the eighth century. In considering English coins from this time onwards, it will be noticed that the debased imitation of the decayed Roman style of art, so much in evidence upon the sceatta series, is changed to a class of design expressed in an entirely new feeling which, if not remarkable for its beauty, shows, at least, a great improvement in style. The same feeling was revived by the flamboyant style of the fourteenth century, which in its turn was succeeded, in the sixteenth century, by designs on the coins which, for the first time, disclosed some ambition to compete with the old masterpieces of Greece and Rome; but finally the utilitarian spirit of modern times has caused the coinage to degenerate into a state chiefly noticeable for the conservatism of its designs and for its mechanical execution. Viewing, therefore, the whole of the currency of this country in perspective, the conclusion is arrived at that it is susceptible of division into four periods of art. These four periods, so far as the coinage is concerned, may be classified as 1. Mediæval. 2. Later mediæval. 3. Renaissance. 4. Modern.

1. *Mediæval Art.*

The first period of mediæval art extends from the time of Offa, King of Mercia, 757 to 796, to that of Edward II., 1307 to 1327, and during the whole of this time the currency of the country, with the

exception of a copper coinage of stycas during the first hundred years in Northumbria, consisted of silver pennies, with occasional halfpennies and farthings also in silver. It is a remarkable fact that the coins of Offa are more artistic than any issued subsequently in this period. (Plate I, Nos. 27-33.) The cause has been attributed to the influences of a visit which Offa is said to have made to Rome. Lingard, in his *History of England*, however, discredits this occurrence, and a critical investigation of the historical records on which the supposition was founded, supports the scepticism of the great historian. It is certain, however, that Offa was in frequent communication with the Continent: he was a contemporary of Charlemagne—and as such might well have been influenced by Continental art. An examination of the coins, however, furnishes internal evidence that their designs could not have been thus introduced, and it is more reasonable to assume that the superiority of Offa's pennies is due to causes purely native and, therefore, not subject to external influences. A comparison of Offa's coins with those minted on the Continent shows that the latter are not only inferior in art, but also that they could have afforded little, if any, inspiration to the engravers of the dies of the Saxon king. Hence we must look for another source whence the inspiration came, and this will be found in the Celtic and Saxon illuminated manuscripts of the time, which were also, in their own particular sphere, pre-eminent. An examination of an early Irish or Saxon illuminated manuscript will show the high artistic merit of its ornamental portions, and the exuberant fancy displayed in the figure subjects of the miniatures; the various features of the animate objects portrayed are often ingeniously converted into spiral curves which, if they render the designs grotesque as portraiture, make them beautiful as ornaments: a typical example may be quoted in *The Book of Kells*. The connection between the designs of the coins and the illuminated miniatures in the manuscripts is evidenced by the fact that many of the former are found in the latter. The reverse designs on Offa's coins chiefly comprise crosses, floral designs, interlaced patterns, and intertwined serpents; the latter being not only commonly met with in the Saxon

and Irish manuscripts, but peculiar to them. It is also interesting to notice that the same kind of ornamentation is common to the Celtic and pre-Norman stone crosses. The busts on Offa's coins are usually well formed, being more life-like and less servile and conventional than on later Saxon coins. The hair is arranged in curls or plaits or is loose and flowing, whilst the drapery of the bust is natural and varied.

After the death of Offa there was a decline in art on the Saxon coins, and this must be attributed to the facts that Offa was far in advance of his age, and that he fostered the art of his kingdom as much as he promoted its internal prosperity and external expansion. The art on the coins of his successors is, indeed, of that crude style which is characteristic of all the later coins of the Saxon administration, usually consisting of a rude and conventional bust on the obverse, and on the reverse of a religious symbol, chiefly the cross. But although nothing so artistic as Offa's designs was produced in this period, there were times of revival when, perhaps, some Sovereign or ecclesiastic had the inclination, and found the leisure, to devote his attention to such designs. That the improvements were neither great nor lasting is not surprising when we consider the circumstances of the time in which our Saxon forefathers lived, for, if not defending itself against foreign invaders, the nation was but too often harried by internal conflict, when but scanty attention could be given to the coins of the country or, indeed, to any other useful improvement.

Now and again, however, the question of the currency would arise and improvements in design result. For instance, among the many things which claimed the attention of Alfred the Great, who reigned from 871 to 901, not the least was the coinage, and in his reign, for the first time since that of Offa, some attempt at portraiture appears to have been made (Plate II, Nos. 34-35), which, however, was further developed under Edward the Elder (Plate II, No. 36), and Athelstan (Plate II, No. 37). The designs on the reverse of the coins of Edward, besides being numerous are also interesting, including, as they do, the well-known Hand of Providence, reproduced from the coins of the Byzantine princes, and representations of Saxon architecture. Athelstan paid considerable attention to the coinage, and introduced a

greater uniformity in the types. A penny of Athelstan, with the design of a building, probably a church, is shown in Plate II, No. 38. In the reign of Athelred II., the king for the first time appears wearing a helmet within a radiated crown, and the design is sufficiently well executed to give a very good impression of the mailed leather hauberk of the period. (Plate II, No. 39.) What improvement may have been effected in the coins of Athelred II. was probably due to the efforts of Dunstan, the famous Abbot of Glastonbury, who, in his later days, turned his attention to those arts which the political intrigues of his earlier career had prevented him from following, although inclined to do so by his natural taste. On the coins of Cnut was introduced the high pointed helmet (Plate II, No. 40), which figures so prominently in the later Bayeux tapestry.

The coins of Edward the Confessor, A.D. 1041 to 1066, can scarcely be called artistic, but several striking designs were adopted, which point to the fact that considerable attention must have been paid to the coinage of the country. A very noticeable design of this reign is that called the sovereign type (Plate II, No. 41), which exhibits a full-length figure of the king seated on a throne and holding a sceptre and orb. It is probable that the idea was taken from a Byzantine model, as this style was much affected by the emperors of the East; and on the Saxon penny the elaborate drapery and rigid outline of figure are also characteristic of the art of the age of the Paleologi. On the reverse of this coin of the Confessor is the design of a cross voided, between four martlets (Plate II, No. 45), and this is considered to be the first indication of heraldic display on English coins, although it should be remembered that the device was not appropriated to heraldry until the reign of Henry III. in the thirteenth century, when the science had become fully established in England. The varied character of the types of the Confessor's coins, at least, lifts their designs from out of the purely conventional order into something, if not artistic, at any rate distinctive and characteristic.

With the change of dynasty after the Conquest, it might be natural to suppose that the polished Norman would have made a complete change in the design and execution of the coinage and raised its art to a

higher plane ; but, although such influences are very marked in architecture, the Norman money was allowed to remain identical in style and execution with the Saxon piece immediately preceding it. A comparison of the penny of Harold II., the last of the Saxon Kings (Plate II, No. 42), with that of the first type of William I. (Plate II, No. 43) will demonstrate this fact. Of Norman and early Plantagenet coins, whilst the issues of the Conqueror are by far the best from the standard of purity, execution and utility, some few of the many types of Henry I., as we should expect, certainly disclose an artistic revival unattempted since the days of Offa, but the remainder, as was the case during the reign of Rufus, show gradual deterioration until, in the troublous reign of Stephen, the lowest ebb of decay was reached (Plate II, No. 44). Many of the coins of this monarch and most of the early money of his successor, Henry II., were extremely ill-struck, very irregular in shape, and in many cases the inscriptions are nearly illegible. Henry II. appears to have realised the undesirability of this state of affairs, for, in 1180, he sent for a foreign artist, Philip Aymary of Tours, to improve the coinage. The designs of this artist met with general satisfaction at the time, and they continued to be used with very little modification for sixty or seventy years, although it must be admitted that conventionality of treatment, both of obverse and reverse, became, under this engraver, again pronounced (Plate II, No. 46). In 1248 a new coinage was issued, differing considerably from the preceding coinage both in design and workmanship. The lettering became more ornamental, and a long voided cross replaced the short cross on the reverse. A feature of interest was the addition of the word *terci*, or numerals indicating the same number, after the king's title as a qualifying number, inasmuch as this was the first time that a Sovereign, bearing the same name as a predecessor, was distinguished from him, an innovation, however, which was but short lived. The so-called gold penny of Henry III. was issued at this time, but it failed to attain popularity and was almost immediately discontinued.

In the next reign, that of Edward I., the obverse design on English coins was materially altered. The bust, although still conventional, was better drawn than those on the coins of his



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43



44



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51



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53



"ART AND ENGLISH COINS."

IX.—XV. CENTURIES.

PL. II.

predecessors. The hair is depicted in natural and flowing locks, according to the fashion of the day, whereas on the coins since A.D. 1180 this feature of the design had been represented by crescents, dots or circles, almost leaving it to the imagination of the observer that they are intended to represent hair. Similar attention was paid to the crown surmounting the bust on Edward's coins. Instead of the plain rows of pearls, or pellets and crosses which were intended to represent a crown on the late coinage, it now appeared as a true representation of the crown of the period. This was of an open form, decorated with fleurs-de-lys, and intermediate pillars supporting pearls (Plate II, Nos. 47 and 48). The obverse design of the pennies of Edward I. was so much superior to most former productions, that it evidently attained popularity, and was not displaced until the reign of Henry VII., lasting a period of over two hundred years. It is interesting, also, to notice that this coinage of pennies was extensively copied on the Continent, and especially in the Low Countries and Germany. Compare Plate II, No. 49.

The artistic improvement in the coins of this country during the reigns of Edward I. and his successors must be attributed, in a great measure, to the influence which the Crusades had upon commerce and the arts in Western Europe, which influence began to be felt here at the time of the later Plantagenets. The Crusaders brought back to Europe many Oriental objects, the designs on which furnished fresh ideas in the way of decorative art; whilst through the extension of trade, which was one of the most beneficent results of the great religious movement, a necessity arose, not only in this country, but generally on the Continent, for the issue of higher denominations than the penny, and a more uniform standard of currency both as to intrinsic value and design. To the time of Edward III., A.D. 1327 to 1377, the commercial needs of the English people had been met by the penny and its sub-divisions, but in and after his time higher denominations, such as groats and half-groats in silver; and in gold, florins, nobles and angels with their sub-divisions were issued. It is considered that the designs on these gold coins commence another epoch in art on the currency, viz., that of the later mediæval, or flamboyant style, as it was called.

2. Later Mediæval Art.

This period extended from the reign of Edward III. to that of Henry VII., and the coins issued reflect, to a much greater extent than before, the artistic tendencies of the time. The simplicity of the earlier designs is replaced by a style of art which exhibits more decoration with greater attention to detail ; and the same elaboration which is to be noticed in the architecture of the period, is also to be seen on the coinage. Heraldic devices, such as shields of arms, badges and crests, now became a prominent feature of the currency.

The silver coins of this period, which now comprised the groat, half-groat, penny, halfpenny and farthing, maintained the general designs of the penny of Edward I. which has already been described. They remained almost unchanged throughout the whole period, as may be seen if Plate II, No. 50, which represents an early groat of Edward III., is compared with Plate II, No. 51, which is a groat of Henry VII., struck at the commencement of his reign, although exactly a century and a half had intervened.

Of gold coins, the first issued in England during the entire mediæval period, if we except the gold penny of Henry III. previously mentioned, and which may almost be regarded as an essay or trial piece, were the florin, half-florin and quarter-florin. As these coins very admirably illustrate the art of the time, a more detailed description of their designs will be more instructive than any general remarks. The obverse of the florin shows the king crowned and robed, enthroned beneath a canopy, holding a sceptre in his right hand and an orb in his left ; two leopards are placed one on either side of the throne, whilst fleurs-de-lys are sprinkled over the field. The reverse design presents a tressure of four curves with a beaded interior, foliated at the angles, containing a short cross with quatrefoiled and foliated ends and pierced with a quatrefoil ; within each curve of the tressure is a crown, and outside each angle of the tressure is a lion or leopard. The half-florin shows, on the obverse, a leopard crowned with a banner bearing the arms of France and England quarterly, fastened to its neck and flowing back on its shoulders. The reverse design is very similar to

that on the florin. The obverse of the quarter-florin depicts a crowned lion standing on a cap of maintenance, surmounting a helmet, attached to which is the mantling or curtain which was worn both for ornament and as a protection against the sun. The field is strewn with lys. The reverse design consists of a short cross potent upon a beaded cross voided with foliated ends, and pierced with a quatrefoil.

The noble, half-noble and quarter-noble succeeded these coins, and became the only denominations of gold coins current until the reign of Edward IV., when they were superseded by the ryal, or rose-noble, with its half and quarter divisions, and these, in turn, gave place later in the same reign to the angels and angelets. The types of all these coins are well known. It will, no doubt, be agreed that the symbolical designs of the king in a ship on the noble (Plate II, No. 52), and of St. Michael spearing the dragon on the angel (Plate II, No. 53), are both striking and interesting. The meaning of the first-mentioned design may be open to question, but that of the latter will be found in Revelations xii, 7-9.

The best contemporary art is to be seen on the currency of this period, and some coins may, with justice, be called beautiful, as, for instance, the gold florin and noble of Edward III., which were superior to any gold currency issued on the Continent at that time. The reverse design of the latter is especially noticeable for its fine chasing, and the contrast between it and the silver coins, which had for so many centuries been the only currency of the country, seems to have greatly impressed the people, the more ignorant ascribing the new coins to the alchemists, who were supposed to have discovered the long-coveted secret of the philosopher's stone, and thereby the transmutation of base metals into gold.

The evidence of the coins and pieces of plate made by the English gold and silversmiths of these times shows that Italian and French metal-workers, then considered the best in Europe, had not unworthy rivals in this country. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that, although the designs on the coins struck during the period of later mediæval art are much superior to those of the preceding, an examination of them must lead one to the conclusion that they never

attained the decorative skill of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

3. *The Renaissance.*

It was only during the third period of art on English coins, which commenced with that great European movement called the Renaissance, and extended to the time of the Commonwealth, that the best numismatic efforts in England, as on the Continent, were achieved. For this great revival we are indirectly indebted to the Turks, who, by their capture of Constantinople in 1453 and the consequent overthrow of the Eastern Empire, caused its Greek scholars to fly to Western cities, more especially to those of Italy, where they revolutionised art no less than literature. The characteristic feature of the Renaissance was its complete reaction against the tastes, ideals and habits of the middle ages; a distaste for the grotesqueness of mediæval art and an awakened desire to return to form and elegance. In mediæval art only the most primitive conceptions of natural surroundings and backgrounds are to be seen, whilst portraiture and perspective, or the realistic rendering of details, were not even attempted. On the other hand, the natural and non-conventional in art were the ruling traits of the Renaissance, and no figure was drawn but from an actual model, no face that was not a portrait, and no portrait that did not attempt to reveal character and disposition. In a word, a return to nature was effected, accompanied by a revival of the true science of design, which together produced accuracy and proportion. In the middle ages art turned towards religious expression, which, in architecture, attained to the highest degree of excellence. In the Renaissance, beauty of the human form, and a true delineation of natural objects, were mainly followed.

In England the effect of the revolution was felt later than on the Continent, and it was only after the conclusion of the Wars of the Roses, that those in authority had leisure to consider the changes which were being effected on the Continent. As we have seen, the art of coin engraving had lost all the perfection which had been reached by Greek and Roman artists, and although the money, especially the gold

pieces, struck during the period of later mediæval art were ornate and not unpleasing, nothing really artistic was produced in England until the time of Henry VII. To this king belongs the honour of placing the art of the engraver on a higher footing than was ever before attained in this country. The work of the English designers may be favourably compared with, and perhaps even be found superior to, that shown on contemporary foreign coins, with the exception of those struck in certain states of Italy, where the influence of the master art of Pisano and Matteo Pasti in the fifteenth century, and of Cellini in the sixteenth century, was more directly felt.

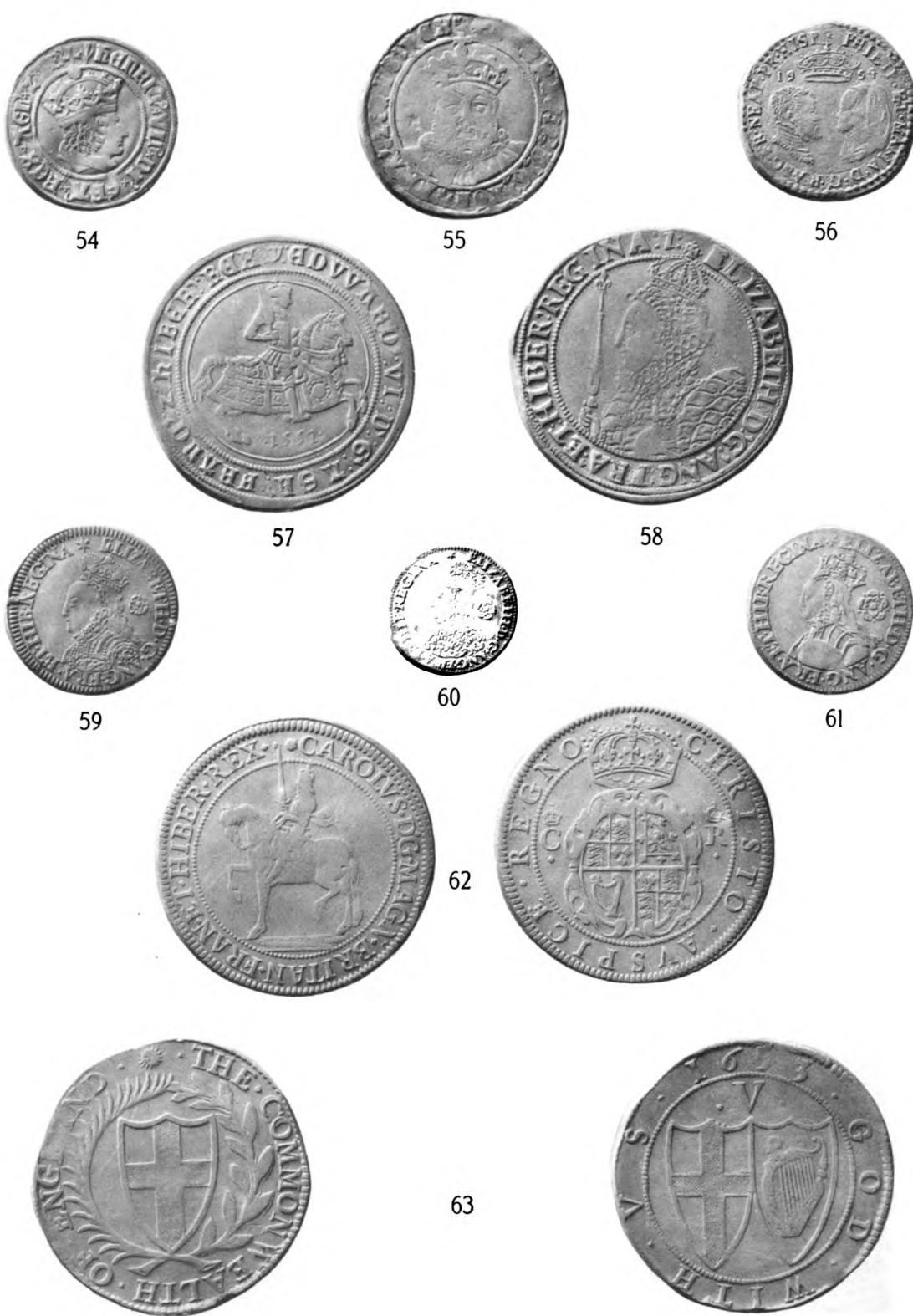
In this period also, the stereotyped restrictions of the currency, both as regards design and denomination, were abolished, and the great volume of different kinds of money, which was now issued, testified to the advance in the trade and prosperity of this country, whilst the designs on the coins indicated an equal advance in education and refinement.

To describe, or even to tabulate, all the different denominations of coins then issued, would be tedious and unnecessary for the purpose of this treatise, but the salient features of the art which is displayed on them should be considered. In common with sculpture and painting, the first, and perhaps the most important, change in the art on the coins of the period of the Renaissance is the introduction of genuine portraits. Until the reign of Henry VII. the king's bust on the coinage was, generally speaking, purely conventional, although some numismatists have endeavoured to trace a likeness of the sovereign on the better executed pieces of certain periods. For instance, Mr. W. J. Andrew, in his *Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I.*, quotes evidence to show that the bust on the penny of type 265 in Hawkins was a correct representation of the king as he appeared in his robes of state, although not actually a portrait. In many other instances attempts were, no doubt, made to reproduce the features of a reigning king, when they lent themselves towards his identification, as, for examples, the beard of the Confessor and the moustache of the Norman Conqueror; but beyond this, attempts at portraiture failed, for the early engraver had not sufficiently advanced

to reach that stage of artistic skill. In this respect the die-engraver was not alone, as it was only at the end of the thirteenth century that faces in painting, which up to that time had been entirely conventional in character, became animated into something of life-like expression. Giotto, who died in 1336, was probably the earliest artist who ventured to paint actual portraits. So far as the coins of England are concerned, a real authentic and correct portrait was not delineated until 1504, when an undoubted picture of Henry VII. was produced on the groat (Plate III, No. 54) and half-groat, and also on the shilling, a new denomination, the name of which had, up to that time, existed only as a money of account and not as an actual coin. The portrait on these coins was in profile, but in the reign of the next sovereign, Henry VIII., a front-faced bust was introduced (Plate III, No. 55). On the shillings and sixpences of Philip and Mary the busts of king and queen are represented as face to face (Plate III, No. 56), a style which, although unique in the English currency, was well known in Philip's Spanish dominions.

Another evidence of the outburst of art on coins during this period is the multiplication of the designs. On the gold currency the most striking was that of St. George in armour and on horseback spearing the dragon, which was adopted for the rare George noble of Henry VIII. It is interesting to notice that this design is the prototype of that subsequently produced by Pistrucci for the sovereign of George III., a design still used upon our coinage to-day. On the silver coinage, the principal additional design was that of the king on horseback, generally in armour, which characterised most of the crowns and half-crowns struck during the entire period. The reverses of the coins were also very varied in their designs. Their main character was heraldic; their main device, a shield of arms. Other devices included the Tudor rose and portcullis, whilst the lion and griffin sometimes appeared as supporters to the Royal arms.

These coins are valuable commentaries on armour and costume, and from this point of view are useful, inasmuch as, after the Renaissance period, the practice of delineating the sovereign in the costume of the day was discontinued. Much artistic skill was shown in these con-



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temporary coin-pictures of armour and dress. For instance, the silver crown of Edward VI. (Plate III, No. 57), a denomination which then came into the general currency of this country, admirably illustrates the armour, both for horse and man, of the sixteenth century; and the coins of Queen Elizabeth are noticeable for their striking delineation of the queen in the royal costume of the period (Plate III, No. 58). They well indicate that love of ostentation and display which was one of the distinguishing characteristics of Elizabeth and her times. This trait is specially pronounced in the three coins shown in Plate III, Nos. 59, 60 and 61, all of which were struck in one year, 1562, yet each shows the queen in a different costume. The various changes of fashion in dress can also be traced on the coins of Charles I., on which three or four such changes are noticeable. He was first portrayed in the voluminous ruff which still survived from Elizabethan times; then in a ruff of more modest proportions, and finally in the simple falling lace collar so often shown on his portraits by Van Dyck. This costume, known as the Van Dyck dress, was undoubtedly the most elegant and picturesque ever worn by men in England.

It is interesting to notice that, although during this period England was indebted to foreigners for its large artistic monuments in painting, marble and bronze, most of the designs on the coins were the work of native artists, as is indicated by the names of the engravers of the dies. The earlier of these were Nicholas Flynte and John Sharpe, who engraved for Henry VII. and Henry VIII.; whilst among later artists may be mentioned Thomas Rawlins, who did much good work for Charles I., and Thomas Simon. On the other hand, Nicholas Briot was a Frenchman who, not considering his merits sufficiently appreciated in his native country, offered his services to Charles I. The King, a well-known lover of art, gave him employment in England, and in 1633 appointed him chief engraver to the Royal Mint. Both Rawlins and Briot were, no doubt, influenced in their designs of the portraits of Charles by the original paintings of the celebrated Van Dyck; but whilst Briot's work is noticeable for the neatness of its detail (Plate III, No. 62), it is less spirited than the designs of the English engravers of his time.

The effect of the revival of art on English coins ceased to be felt after the reign of Charles I. It is well known that the government of the Commonwealth discouraged rather than fostered art, and this is reflected in the coins of the English republic, the designs on which are chiefly noticeable for their puritanic simplicity (Plate III, No. 63), although they were executed by Thomas Simon, the most celebrated of English medallists.

4. *Modern Arts.*

We now arrive at the consideration of the last period of art on English coins, that of modern art. Generally speaking this period is conspicuous for the stereotyped nature of the currency and its mechanical execution, the paucity and monotony of its designs and the spirit of imitation which it breathes. Two distinct styles of art are traceable on the coins of the period ; both imitations of the antique. The first, or Roman style, extends to the reign of George III., and the second, or Greek, can be traced on the later coins of George III. and the pieces struck by his successors.

The bust showing the first style is laureated in the old Roman fashion and the shoulders, as regards the silver currency, are clothed in a conventional Roman mantle (Plate IV, No. 64), or, subsequently, in Roman armour (Plate IV, No. 67). The regal copper series, which was first issued by Charles II., bears a reverse design (Plate IV, No. 66), also undoubtedly suggested by the figure of Britannia as found on Roman coins (Plate IV, No. 65). This imitative Roman art was introduced for the coinage of the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, from France, where it came into vogue in the time of Louis XIII.

Cromwell's coins were engraved by Thomas Simon and struck by the mill-and-screw process, which was re-introduced into England at this time, having previously been used for the production of a comparatively small issue of coins in the reign of Elizabeth. The module now adopted was, however, quite different to any that had preceded it, and with little variation was the pattern for the coins of the same denominations still in use. Simon was displaced by a Dutch artist named Roettier, who had come under the notice of Charles II. on

the Continent before his restoration to the throne. In artistic merit, however, Roettier's coins are inferior to those of Simon, and from this time the coinage shows a gradual deterioration if considered from the point of view of art alone.

This gradual decline was undoubtedly due to the fact that the inspiration of the Renaissance had become exhausted. For two hundred years Europe had subsisted on the fruits of this revival, until new forces and new interests were needed. These were supplied by the revival, in the middle of the eighteenth century, of the study of Greek literature and art which was mainly brought about by Johann Winckelmann, the leading art critic of his time. It must be borne in mind that the museums of northern Europe had not yet been founded, and most of the antique monuments were confined to Rome. Here they were supposed to have been the pure work of the old Roman civilisation, and the discovery, by Winckelmann, of the existence of a Greek form of art as perpetuated by Roman copies was a complete revelation to his age. This discovery opened a new sphere in the study of ancient monuments, and the taste for the ostentatious, so characteristic of the later times of the Renaissance, was changed to an appreciation of the virtues of repose and simplicity, as shown in the finest period of Greek art. The whole of Europe became saturated with a new impulse, resembling the Renaissance, and known as the Greek revival or Philhellenic movement. The influence of the movement on modern art was carried to a remarkable degree, and even in commonplace articles of every-day use no style of design was tolerated that was not an imitation of the Greek. The characteristic feature of the new movement was simplicity of form. In architecture Greek porticoes and colonnades were everywhere applied to modern buildings. The theatrical style of sculpture was abandoned in favour of the new, based on an imitation of Greek art, and in painting the same classical spirit showed itself. In the art of the coin engraver the result of the movement is seen in the abandonment of the conventional Roman style, for a more free conception of art guided by the simplicity of Greek models. Hence on the productions of the great recoinage of 1816 and subsequent years, a simple laureated and undraped bust is

X 2

represented (Plate IV, No. 68), and, later, even the laurel wreath encircling the head of the sovereign disappears (Plate IV, No. 70). The St. George and Dragon design, before referred to, was treated in much the same manner (Plate IV, No. 68), whilst the Roman figure of Britannia on the copper series was furnished with a Greek helmet (Plate IV, No. 69).

The term of the Greek revival came to an end in the middle of the nineteenth century, when a new movement, generated by a study of mediæval history, resulted in an appreciation of mediæval literature and art. The seeds of this Gothic revival, as it was called, are credited with having first matured in Germany, but they soon spread throughout Europe, every country in turn taking to the study of its own mediæval past and deriving inspiration from it. The movement in England was, perhaps, earlier seen in the historical romances of Sir Walter Scott, which were the first works of English literature to draw popular attention to the middle ages. All this reacted on the forms of modern art. The great cathedrals, which had been almost ignored by the classical school of architecture and stigmatised as "only Gothic," were now exalted above the imitative Roman arcades and Greek temples as models for architectural forms, and it would be difficult to specify an important church built after 1850 which does not exhibit one or other of the mediæval styles. The movement is, again, evident in the revival and appreciation of the science of heraldry; whilst in that of numismatics, the Saxon and early English coinage began to claim the attention of students at the expense of classical productions. In the designs of modern English coins, the simplicity of the Grecian feeling of art was first abandoned in favour of the mediæval style on the silver florin (Plate IV, No. 71), introduced in 1849, and on the well-known "Gothic crown," Plate IV, No. 72. Beyond these, however, the movement is reflected by the coins to but a small degree. Indeed, the English coinage throughout practically the whole period of modern art has almost invariably consisted of the sovereign's head on the obverse, and a shield or shields of arms on the reverse. Exceptions to this rule are the St. George and Dragon design reintroduced on the crowns and sovereigns of George III., and the royal crest, a lion



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surmounting a crown, on the later shillings of George IV. (Plate IV, No. 70), and again on the shilling of His present Majesty (Plate IV, No. 73). The copper coinage commenced with a reverse design of Britannia, and so it still remains.

The reason for this consistent character of modern coins is due to the utilitarian spirit of the times, and the necessity for a huge volume of money for the purposes of trade. It is necessary that the currency of the country as a purely circulating medium of exchange should conform to certain universally known standards of denomination to avoid confusion at home and abroad, and it is therefore of little value from an artistic or historical point of view. In the reign of Queen Anne, public attention was called to the desirability of raising the coinage above the level of a mere medium of exchange, and on several occasions since, members of various influential societies and of the general public have shown themselves not altogether indifferent to art on the coins of this country. For instance, in 1798, a circular was issued to the members of the Royal Academy inviting designs for coins so that the national money "might be improved in workmanship." This was just prior, and was perhaps one of the causes leading, to the influence of the Philhellenic movement on the coinage. Again, the hoarding of the lion shillings and sixpences of George IV., and of the so-called "graceless" florins of Victoria, testifies to the public interest shown in coin designs. It is within the memory of all, too, that the issue of 1893 was a result of the unpopularity of the Jubilee coinage of 1887, both as to obverse and reverse (Plate IV, No. 74).

That art has, to some extent, been forced to conform to certain recognised types for modern English coins is due to the necessity of adhering to standard designs, easily distinguishable in the various denominations for the purposes of exchange, rather than to the lack of artistic talent in the country, for, during the past century, many notable artists have been engaged in the preparation of the dies for our coinage; men celebrated in gem engraving, sculpture and painting. Of these, mention may be made of Kückler, who was responsible for the copper pennies and twopenny pieces of 1797; of Thomas Wyon, who was employed by George III.; of William Wyon,

an artist of exceptional merit during the reigns of George IV., William IV. and Victoria; of William Dyce, a Scottish artist who designed the "Gothic" florin of Victoria; of Thomas Brock, R.A., the designer of the bust of Victoria which appeared on the coins of 1893, and a sculptor of superior ability whose figure of Eve, exhibited in the Royal Academy exhibition of 1898, ranks amongst the most notable examples of modern art; of Sir E. J. Poynter, P.R.A., who contributed the reverse designs on the florin and shilling of the 1893 coinage; and, lastly, of George William De Saulles, who designed the coins of His present Majesty, Edward the Seventh.

It seems somewhat of a pity that the artistic abilities of these famous artists should have to be subservient, even in however small a degree, to considerations of utility and standardism, but it may be that in the near future some happy combination may yet be attained when the token of commerce may rank as the token of art, and the new design on the reverse of the present florin (Plate IV, No. 75) is a happy augury of this.


Let us trust that those who, in the distant future, look back as we do upon art and English coins, will always be able to quote the words of Pope:—

"The medal faithful to its charge of fame,
Thro' climes and ages bears each form and name;
In one short view subjected to our eye,
Gods, Emperors, Heroes, Sages, Beauties lie."

The sceattas, the Stephen penny, and several of the rare Saxon coins illustrated are in the collection of Mr. Carlyon-Britton; the gold noble was lent by Mr. Thomas Bearman, and the Offa pennies are impressions from coins in the British Museum. To these three sources, in addition to my own collection, I am therefore indebted for the illustrations given of the more important changes in the art of our coinage, and all the gentlemen concerned have my best thanks.

LEATHER CURRENCY.

BY WILLIAM CHARLTON.

HE old saying "There is nothing like leather," implying its superiority and adaptability, is scarcely applicable when it is used for the purpose of currency. Leather is a most important and useful article of commerce, and takes high rank as one of our principal manufactures, being extensively used in a variety of ways to supply our necessities in clothing, furniture, bookbinding, husbandry, and other conveniences of domestic life. It is also universally serviceable in all kinds of mechanical trades, but it is quite unsuitable as a means of currency amongst commercial nations in modern times.

Although far removed from actual leather currency, it may be well to remember that at different periods of the world's history and in various countries, hides, skins or furs have been used as a measure of value in the purchase or exchange of commodities.

The skins of animals formed the first clothing worn by man, and hides were no doubt one of the earliest materials used as a medium of exchange, or, in other words, as a substitute for money, and were generally employed as such in ancient times. According to the books of Genesis and Job, a man's wealth was estimated in patriarchal days by the number of oxen, sheep, etc., that he possessed, and the hides or skins of these animals being used for clothing would naturally be a most useful and convenient material for the purpose of bartering one commodity for another. Indeed, it is said that rolls of parchment and leather were used as money by the ancient Egyptians, 1500 B.C.

According to Book IX of the *Iliad*, "many ships came from Lemnos during the siege of Troy bringing wine, and the Greeks bought thereof, some with bronze, some with iron, and some with ox hides." Ox hides, on which was laid the bronze armour, formed the

principal clothing of the Greek soldiers, and Homer frequently speaks of the shield as "seven-hided."

It is stated by Pausanias, the Greek historian and prose writer, that the house of Polycletus, the sculptor, was paid for in hides or skins, because at that time the people were not familiar with gold or silver money, and what was then bought was purchased in that manner. Pausanias flourished in the second century A.D., and would himself, therefore, be well acquainted with the metallic currency of his own day ; but the statement he makes refers to an early period in Greek history, for he is writing of the fifth century B.C., when hides or skins were still a customary medium of exchange.

Isidore, a writer of the first century A.D.,¹ relates that the Lacedæmonians used leather for currency. This remark would probably refer to the fifth century B.C., or earlier. Plato, who was born in the year 427 B.C., speaks of leather money as being used by the Carthaginians in his day, and it would appear to have formed the earliest currency of that people. The City of Carthage was founded by the Phœnicians in the middle of the ninth century B.C., or about one hundred years before Rome, and the Carthaginians, like the Phœnicians, were renowned for their commercial enterprise and political progress.

Mr. A. del Mar, in the *History of Money*, Ed. 1885, ascribes to the fifth century B.C. the use of that peculiar money mentioned in the *Socratic Dialogues* imputed to Æschines, and quotes the following from the *Dialogue on Riches* :—

"The Carthaginians made use of the following kind (of money) : in a small piece of leather, a substance is wrapped of the size of a piece of four-drachmæ ; but what this substance is, no one knows except the maker. After this, it is sealed (by the state) and issued for circulation." The era of Æschines is fixed at 430–350 B.C. ; the "leather" money may be reasonably conjectured to have been parchment, and the mysterious substance either tin or a compound of tin and copper. The size of a four-drachmæ piece was about the same size as that of an English penny.

There can be little doubt that this was a numerical money, one whose value arose from a specifically limited number of pieces in use ;

¹ Some authorities assign him to the third century.

because the substance of which it was made was concealed from view and could only be ascertained—if at all—by perforating or removing the parchment enclosure, and thus rendering the pieces worthless. It is evident that their value did not arise from that of the substance which composed them.

How long and under what circumstances this peculiar money lasted, we have no means of determining ; but it probably went out of use within half a century after the gold and silver mines of Spain were opened, about 408 B.C., and regular supplies of these metals began to make their appearance in Carthage.

The Roman writer Seneca, who died A.D. 65, mentions that amongst the old Romans stamped leather was used for money, and this is corroborated by a similar statement in the writings of Eusebius, who flourished in the fourth century A.D., to the effect that, amongst other materials, leather was used for money in the reign of Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome, about the year 715 B.C. John Evelyn in his *Discourse of Medals*, 1697, accepts this statement as a fact, namely, that Numa used leather money ; and Camden quotes the statement of Seneca. Several other early writers agree in stating that leather was the material used by the Romans for money, before King Numa introduced copper.

Evelyn says that Ænobarbus was forced to pay his soldiers with *scorteis nummis*, i.e., leather money. Ænobarbus, or Domitius, was the Roman general of Diocletian's army in Egypt, and afterwards emperor, at Alexandria, A.D. 288–290.

The Chinese employed the skins of animals for currency before the Christian era. It is recorded that ram skins were used for this purpose in the seventh, and pieces of the skins of white stags in the second century B.C.

In the fourteenth century A.D., leather notes were issued by the Ming or “Bright” dynasty during a period of rebellion. The Ming dynasty commenced with the reign of Hung-Wu, in 1368, on the overthrow of the Mongol rulers, and continued until 1644, when it was succeeded by the Manchoo dynasty, which is now the imperial family of China.

In connection with Chinese leather currency, it is interesting to

read the following extract from the mediæval journal¹ of Sir John Mandeville, the celebrated English traveller, to prove that leather money existed in Tartary during the fourteenth century :—

The emperor maketh no money but of leather imprinted, or of paper. And of that money is some of greater price and some of lesser price, after the diversity of his statutes. And when the money hath run so long that it beginneth to waste (wear out), then men bring it to the emperor's treasury, and there they take new money for the old. And that money goeth throughout all the country and throughout all his provinces. For there and (even) beyond them they make no money neither of gold nor silver.

Sir John Mandeville left England in 1322, and spent thirty-four years in visiting various countries. He appears to have been in China about the year 1327, and remained three years at Peking. As Mandeville's visit was about forty years before the reign of Hung-Wu, it is evident that leather money was in circulation under the Mongol rulers before the Ming dynasty was established, so that the latter would appear to have followed the practice of its predecessors in this respect. It is impossible to ascertain for what length of time this leather currency circulated in the provinces of the Celestial Empire.

Records exist showing that in early times, cattle, hides, and furs served the purpose of money in all the countries now known to us as the Russian Empire, Germany, Prussia, Poland, Bohemia, Bulgaria and other European states, and also in Siberia, Tartary, Persia, and other Asiatic countries. Our own monetary term "pecuniary" comes to us from the Latin *pecunia*, money, which, in turn, is derived from *pecus*, signifying cattle.

Ibsen Foszan, in his travels in the tenth century, states that the Bulgarians on the Volga paid a tax of one ox hide for each house. In Poland, during the reign of Casimir the Great in the fourteenth century, the plaintiff in a court of justice was ordered to deposit with the judge three skins of martens or sables, which were returned to him if he gained his cause, but were forfeited if he lost it. This king also received payment of taxes in skins from the people of Novgorod and other tributary states.

¹ *Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, Ed. 1839, p. 239.

Amongst the early customs of our country, Domesday records the rent of Chester as £45 and three marten skins. This entry is peculiar to Chester, but in Normandy the marten or weasel skin was not an unusual tribute in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

In France, during the reign of Philip the First, 1060 to 1108, pieces of leather with a small silver nail fixed in the centre were issued as currency, and similar money was again issued by Louis IX., 1226 to 1270; by John the Good in 1360, and by his son Charles the Wise from 1364 to 1380. The two last-mentioned issues were probably necessitated in consequence of the country being greatly impoverished and denuded of its metallic currency, in order to pay the large ransom demanded by England for the release of its king, John II., who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers, 19th September, 1356. The French King was released 25th October, 1360, after four years of captivity. John Evelyn, in his *Discourse of Medals*, 1697, p. 11, makes the following reference to this issue of leather money :—

Philip Comines says that money was so exceedingly scarce in France after the ransom of King John, son of Phil. de Valois, that they did use leather money, through which a small boss-nail of silver was struck in the middle, as we now find a little piece of copper in our tin farthings to give them strength and value. The sum of the ransom, it seems, was so vast (as money then was precious) that their own historians tell us, that besides several lands, territories and seignories, etc., homage done by great persons (retaining the titles of sovereignty both of sea and land), there was paid no less than three millions of crowns, which is one and twenty millions, four hundred and twelve thousand, five hundred livres of their money at this day.

Anderson, in *Origin of Commerce*, 1787, says :—

King John agreed to pay for the ransom of his person three million gold crowns, worth three shillings and four pence sterling each, or, as the treaty expresses it, two of which were equal to an English noble, *i.e.*, six shillings and eight pence, so that this ransom was almost equal to £500,000 sterling of the money of that period, which, having very near thrice the quantity of silver that our modern pound contains, was nearly equal to one million and an half of our present (1787) money.

Of these three millions of crowns, the first payment was to be six hundred thousand crowns, which sum Voltaire in his *General History of Europe* says "that France exhausted with the wars could not

furnish, so that they were obliged to recall the Jews, and to sell to them the privilege of living and trading in France. The King himself was reduced to the necessity of paying for the necessities of his household in leather money, in the middle of which there was a little nail of silver."

A Life of Anne of Brittany, by Constance Countess de la Warr, 1906, states that :—

In 1490, Anne of Brittany was in grave distress for money, so much so, that the Maréchal [de Dreux, her guardian] caused a rough piece of money called black money to be issued. This was of little value in itself, being made of leather with a small piece of silver in the centre.

This sort of money was common in France when King John le Bon was a captive in England after the battle of Poitiers. "Because there was no money they made a very small coin of silver and attached it to a piece of leather, in order that it should not be lost and also be more convenient for handling."—*Godefroi de Langlet du Tresney*.

The last passage has probably suffered by translation, as the words "attached it to" should probably be rendered "encircled by" to convey the true description.

In Italian history we read of leather money existing in 1122, when it was issued by the Doge Michiele of Venice. The Venetians at that time were the premier naval and commercial power in the Mediterranean, and the Doge, who contracted with the other European nations engaged in the Crusades to transport their soldiers to the Holy Land, struck leather money for the subsidy of his fleet. These pieces, which were stamped with the Doge's own seal, were of different values and various shapes, but mostly square in form. The Doge himself also engaged in the Crusades, and in person conducted the siege of Tyre, when, to satisfy the clamour of his troops, he also paid them in leather pieces.

The Emperor Frederick II., in 1237, used leather money at the sieges of Milan and Faventia, but this he afterwards recalled and exchanged for silver money; and again, in 1248, he issued similar leather currency at the siege of Parma.

During the great struggle in the sixteenth century between Spain and the Netherlands, the city of Leyden sustained a long siege by the Spaniards in 1573 and 1574, and in its emergency issued leather,

carton or pasteboard, and other similar currency. The leather pieces were stamped with the arms of the city and represented five, ten, twenty and thirty stuivers. Some of the money, it is said, was cut from the bindings and leaves of missals.

At the sale of Colonel Mailliet's *Monnaies Obsidionales et de Nécessité*, in December, 1886, at Paris, a leather siege piece of Leyden realised twenty francs, and was described in the catalogue as—

No. 692. Armes de Leide, et sans légende et sans revers.—Cuir.

In the preface to the catalogue it is stated :—"When lead failed they made money with leather, but the starving inhabitants eat the leather, as at Middlebourg. It was necessary to have recourse to other means, and, as at Leyden, several leaves of missals were glued together and cut, becoming cardboard money. Such is the origin of these curious¹ pieces of the greatest historical interest."

At the same sale another leather piece was disposed of for thirteen francs, which was stated to have been issued in America by Lady Mary Herbert during the war of the seventeenth century. It was described as follows :—

Amérique.

Monnaie de nécessité XVII siècle No. 26 MH. liés ensemble, dans un entourage dentelé. Monnaie émise par Lady Marie Herbert, pendant la guerre du XVII siècle.—Cuir.

The latest use of leather for regal currency in Europe appears to be that of Russia. From about the eighth century onwards, as the commerce of that country expanded, and the supply of hides for exchange or barter purposes failed to keep pace with the monetary requirements of the people, the use of whole skins was discontinued, and skin snouts, ears and claws were substituted. These, in turn, gave place to pieces of skin or leather, which at first were of irregular shape about an inch square in size, but were afterwards issued in a circular form, and impressed with the government stamp. They continued in use until the reform of the currency in the latter part of the reign of Peter the Great, who died in 1725.

¹ *Innombrable*, but probably used in its sense of indefinite, as leather money is rare.

Baron Chandois, in *Aperçu sur les Monnaies Russes*, 1836, p. 7, says the stamping of leather money appeared to have been general in different provinces, and to have been adopted by the sovereign on certain occasions for regal currency, as was proved by an authenticated stamp of the Czar Ivan IV., who died in 1584 after a reign of fifty-one years. He adds that the stamp above-named was kept in the arsenal of Veronage, and at the same place was also preserved some leather money, showing on one side the equestrian figure of St. George, and on the other an inscription "Czar and Grand Duke Ivan"; but he was unable to ascertain where these particular pieces circulated.

We find, however, the figure of a horseman, armed sometimes with a sword and sometimes with a spear or lance, on the old Polish currency of the Baltic province of Lithuania, of the time of Alexander I. of Poland, 1501-1506, and of later dates.

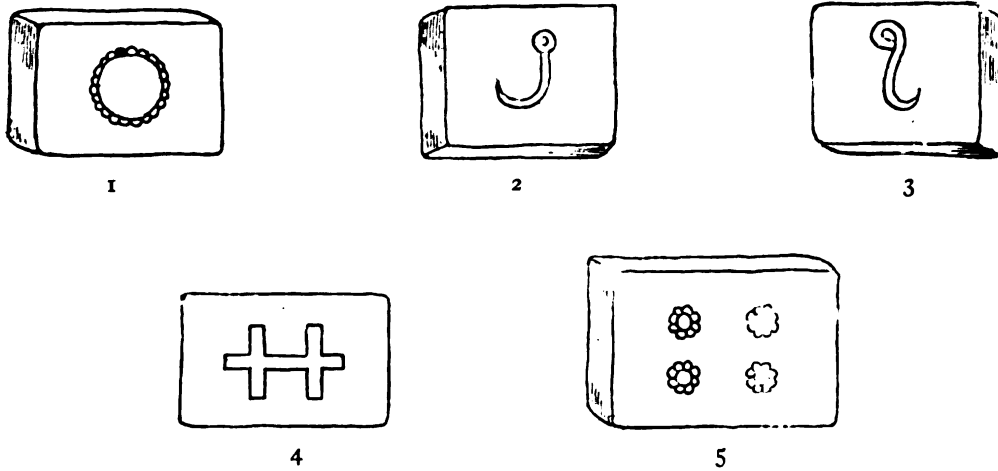
This equestrian figure is sometimes described as a Lithuanian horseman, but it eventually developed into St. George and the Dragon on kopecks struck by Peter the Great. The kopeck was a new denomination issued in 1711, and the name implies a lance. The leather pieces of the horseman type may, therefore, have been used in Lithuania. Chandois also tells us :—

In the Monastery of St. Alexandre, in the province of Vladimir they have kept entire a small cask full of leather coupons; they are square in form, some with the imprint or stamp of a small hook, others smaller, showing a star, another with the word "*Koudma*" stamped on, which is the name of a river in the province of Novgorod, and flows into the Dwina not far from Archangel.

Chandois had one in his own possession marked "oudma," which was evidently one of these, on which the first letter "k" had failed to receive the stamping. This he considered confirmed his opinion that different provinces, towns or districts had particular marks for local circulation, although for large purchases entire skins were still used.

He gives sketches of five types of the coupons, which are here reproduced, and remarks that two specimens had been sent to the Russian Society of History and Antiquities at Moscow.

He quotes Svignan in the catalogue of the Russian Museum as mentioning two *mordki* and two *krioutchki* of leather which he



RUSSIAN LEATHER MONEY FROM DRAWINGS BY CHANDOIS.

had received from the old monasteries of Alexandrof and Svajski, but gives no description of them. The word *mordki* means head or snout, and is evidently derived from the latest form of hide-barter previously quoted. Roussouf, another Russian writer, says that there were leather pieces in many of the museums, but does not name them.

When the commercial relations of Russia were established with the Hanseatic towns towards the close of the fourteenth century, the necessary articles of commerce were paid for by the Russians in skins of martens, squirrels, sables and ermine, and these skins acquired a fixed comparative value. Hence from these the names of the first metallic currency of Russia were derived :—

- Grivna* = The value of a horse or of twenty marten skins.¹
- Nogata* = An Esthonian local term for skins or hides.
- Skoury* = Leather; used also for furs in general.
- Mordki* = Head or snout.
- Lobki* = Head or face.
- Ouchki* = Ears.
- Dolgui* = Long, hence, a long strip.
- Zouby* = Toothed.

¹ The etymology is uncertain, but this is the meaning usually assigned.

- Skot* = Cattle, whence *skotary*, a Polish monetary term.
Kouny = Sable, marten.
Riezainy = Coupon.
Bielki = Ermine.
Rouble — From the verb *roobit*, to chop or cut off; e.g., strips of leather.

The North American Indian hunters or trappers, in the vast regions formerly controlled by the Hudson's Bay Company, in Labrador and the North-West Territories, and also in British Columbia, and in the American state of Alaska, use skins for money at the present day, and any article they want is valued at a given number of skins. In 1857 the Hudson's Bay Company attempted to supersede this custom by the issue of brass tokens, called Beaver Skin money, representing 1, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$ beaver skins, the beaver skin being the unit of value, which would entitle the hunter to be supplied with goods at the Company's depôts to the values indicated; but they were neither popular nor long current.

Obverse.—The arms of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Reverse.—*HB. E.M. I. NB.* in four lines, meaning "Hudson's Bay East Maine" (East Maine being the principal trading depôt of the Company in Labrador); 1, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, or $\frac{1}{8}$ representing the value in beaver skins.

The N in NB. was said to be an error for M, intended for "Made beaver," a made skin being that which is dressed, and the Secretary of the Company has now kindly written confirming this.

Previous, however, to this issue a metallic token had been struck by the North West Company in 1820.

Obverse.—Head of George III.; above, the word *TOKEN*; below, the date, 1820.

Reverse.—A beaver on a rock, encircled by the legend *NORTH WEST COMPANY*.

The value of this token was, what its device indicated, one beaver skin.

The North West Company was for many years a competitor of the powerful Hudson's Bay Company, but in 1821 the two companies were amalgamated and continued as the Hudson's Bay Company, so that the

tokens issued by the North West Company in 1820 would then be called in, and this would explain their rarity to-day, for only five or six specimens are known to be in existence.

Professor J. Laurence Loughlin, of Chicago University, writing in 1903, says :—

In the Arctic regions the inhabitants naturally find in skins the satisfaction of their chief need, and therefore skins have remained the unit of value to them. . . . Coon, rabbit and squirrel skins (in that order of precedence in value) are yet freely used by the mountaineers of Kentucky as currency.

In South America also, hides or skins were employed as a measure of value, and in remote districts the same conditions, probably, to some extent exist at the present time.

In our own country we find several instances of the employment of leather for currency. We may, however, dismiss without comment the statement by Fabian Philip that Julius Cæsar coined leather money in Britain, but Camden in *Remaines concerning Britain*, 1614, p. 198, mentions a tradition existing in his day, that in the confused state of the Barons' Wars in the reign of King John stamped leather money was issued, but that he had never seen any.

Ruding, writing of the coinage of Edward I., says :—

I have met with an account of money struck by this monarch upon a material very different from those which are usually selected for coinage, but which the writer represents as still existing in his memory: I cannot, therefore, withhold it from my reader's notice. He says, "King Edward I., his leather money, bearing his name, stamp, and picture, which he used in the building of Carnarvon, Beaumarish, and Conway Castles, to spare better bullion, were since I can remember preserved and kept in one of the towers of Carnarvon Castle." (See *History of Allchester*, written in 1622, and printed at the end of *Kennett's Parochial Antiquities*, p. 696.)

If the statement of this anonymous author be correct, the above must have been rather tokens, or a kind of promissory notes, than money. Nothing further is, I believe, known concerning them.

It may be observed that as Conway Castle was founded in 1283, Carnarvon in 1284, and Beaumaris in 1295, the period would comprise but twelve years, and it is therefore not improbable that Edward might issue a token currency of that description "to spare better bullion," as

the anonymous author quaintly observes. He was certainly the first sovereign since the Norman Conquest to reduce the weight of the silver penny.

In the State letters and papers of Henry VIII., No. 2958, there is the draft of a speech delivered in Parliament by Thomas Cromwell in the year 1523, on the occasion of the declaration of war against France and Scotland. After explaining the difficulty of finding coin or bullion enough to feed the army of 40,000 men, he says:—"Thus we should soon be made incapable of hurting anyone, and be compelled, as we once did, to coin leather." Then, probably turning to Henry who was present, he added:—"This, for my part, I could be content with; but if the King *will* go over in person, and should happen to fall into the hands of the enemy—which God forbid—how should we be able to redeem him? If they will nought for their wines but gold, they would think great scorn to take leather for our Prince. And of the inhabitants of the archdukedom, how desirous they are to have much of our money for little of their victuals."

John Evelyn, in speaking of the various materials which have been used for money, and, possibly, with Cromwell's remark in mind, says of King Henry VIII.: "Whether this magnificent prince, after those extravagant sums he luxuriously lavished and consumed, descended to make use of leather, it has not been my hap to see any of it."

The *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1832 contains a communication from J. Y. Akerman upon several leathern jettons, found some time previously on the site of the ancient town of Terouenne in France (the *Morinorum Civitas* of the Romans) which was razed to the ground by Henry VIII. He describes the pieces as of leather and varying but little in thickness, which in the largest did not exceed that of our penny piece. The reverses were blank and the leather was not dressed on that side as it was on the other.

A plate accompanied the article containing thirteen illustrations of these tokens or jettons. The subjects of Nos. 1, 2 and 5 are female heads, and the costume certainly bears some resemblance to that of the time of Henry VIII., whilst the armour on the bust on No. 10 is very like that seen on the portraits of the Emperor Maximilian who

assisted Henry in this war, but the helmet is unlike those of the period, and more resembles the fanciful figures of Holbein and Van Leyden, who in some of their designs mingled Roman and Greek costume with that of the fourteenth century. No. 13 is remarkable in being a copy of the obverse side of a Roman denarius. "Some," says the writer, "may be inclined to consider them as siege-pieces, but there are no numerals or other marks indicating their value."

Akerman observed that all had heard of leather money, and yet he was unable to explain or even guess at the origin of the pieces described, but whether intended as money, or its representative, or jettons, they were worthy of the attention of the curious; and he invited the readers of the *Magazine* to give their opinion respecting them; but no further information seems to have been elicited.

In the reign of Elizabeth, owing to the want of regal halfpence and farthings, private tradesmen's tokens, made in leather, tin, lead, and other materials, were largely issued and used for the small change necessary in daily transactions. Whilst leaden tokens are frequently to be met with, no specimens in leather of this period are now known to exist.

During the seventeenth century when the currency of tradesmen's tokens became more general, there must have been a considerable issue of such money in leather, for, notwithstanding its perishable nature when compared to metal and the total absence of intrinsic value, a fairly representative series still remains to us.

The British Museum possesses seven specimens—

1. *Obverse*.—CHAPTER COFFE HOVSE; 2 = a mitre; the letters of the legend have been gilded.
Reverse.—Blank.
2. *Obverse*.—Similar, but the figure 4 instead of 2.
Reverse.—Blank.
3. *Obverse*.—D.I.W. ELLIS, 1650, in four lines.
Reverse.—A wyvern.
4. *Obverse*.—*Union in Cornhill* in four lines; across the field, a horizontal figure 4.
Reverse.—Blank.
5. *Obverse*.—ROBINS IN OLD IEWRY; the figure 3 indented above.
Reverse.—Blank.

Y 2

6. *Obverse*.—Similar, but the figure 4 instead of 3.

Reverse.—Blank.

7. *Obverse*.—SAM TOWERS · BEHIND THE ROY · EXCHA ;
across the field, HIS TOKEN FOR 2 PEN-

Reverse.—Blank.

In the Guildhall Museum there are six leather tokens from the Beaufoy collection of London tradesmen's tokens of the seventeenth century. This extensive collection was presented to the Corporation of London by H. B. H. Beaufoy, and a descriptive catalogue prepared by Jacob Henry Burn—second edition, 1885—gives the following description of five of the leather tokens :—

No. 441. *Obverse*.—*Union in Cornhill*. In small compartment, the figure 3.

Reverse.—Blank.

Struck on leather one inch and three-eighths in diameter.

The Union established in Exchange Alley, although designated "in Cornhill," was a coffee-house in high vogue with the mercantile world, and frequently a place of meeting for their discussing matters of general import—see advertisements in the *Tatler*, August 2nd, 1709, and elsewhere.

On March 25th, 1748, the Union Coffee House, with eighty other buildings, including many coffee houses and taverns of considerable celebrity, were wholly destroyed by fire.

The plan inserted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, in that year, denotes the site.

"A leather three pence, Union in Cornhill," occurs in the sale catalogue of the coins and other articles of vertu, the property of Peter Birkhead, goldsmith and antiquary, deceased, sold in January, 1743, at his house, the Queen's Head, in Grafton Street, Soho ; but no other has been discovered in any sale catalogue.

No. 676. *Obverse*.—ROBINS IN OLD IEWRY, the figure 3 in indentation.

Reverse.—Blank.

Struck on leather, one inch and two-eighths diameter.

A leather three pence of excessive rarity ; formerly in the collection of Dr. Samuel Pegge, at whose sale in 1797 it was purchased by the late David Alves Rebello¹ of Hackney, for £2 4s. *od.*

The idea of leather money appears to have struck the fancy of Sir William Davenant, who, in his comedy of *The Wits*, 1636, 4to,

¹ See *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. i, p. 301.

thus alludes to it: "Bury her gold with her! 'Tis strange her old shoes were not interr'd too, for fear the days of Edgar should return, when they coin'd leather." Act V, I.

Play-writers rarely adhere to facts; and this flourish is a whimsy of the poet.

Robin's, at a later date, is mentioned by Macky, as one of the three celebrated coffee-houses in Change Alley—Garraway's, Robin's and Jonathan's. That writer speaks of Robin's being the resort of the foreign bankers, and often even of foreign ministers—*Journey Through England*, edit. 1724, 8vo, vol. i, p. 169.

No. 883. *Obverse*.—CHAPTER COFFE HOVSE; 4. In the field, a mitre.

Reverse.—Blank, struck on leather. A leather groat. The letters in the legend are reversed, and the figure (4) is distinct on lower verge.

M. C. Tutet, whose collections were dispersed in 1786, possessed a similar piece struck on leather, but his had the figure 2, or half groat.

No. 884. *Obverse*.—CHAPTER COFFE HOVSE. In the field a mitre.

Reverse.—Blank, struck on leather. Different, and smaller in size. The leather appears to have been gilded.

The Chapter Coffee-House, at the north-west corner of Paul's Alley, long the resort of eminent literary characters, was, it is stated, finally closed on the death of Mr. Charles Faithfull, the proprietor, in November, 1853.

No. 1161. *Obverse*.—SAM TOWERS · BEHIND THE ROY · EXCHA- (in a circle). In the field HIS TOKEN FOR 2 PEN ·

Reverse.—Blank. Struck on leather.

In addition to the five specimens described by Burn, there is also in the same collection a leather disc stamped I.R. and the reverse blank, which is stated by Williamson in his appendix to Boyne's *Tokens of the Seventeenth Century*, to be for Robin's, Old Jewry. According to the same authority, a specimen of the SAM TOWERS token was in the private collection of Mr. J. Elliot Hodgkin. Another was exhibited by Mr. N. Kevan at the meeting of the British Numismatic Society on July 17th, 1907.

In Boyne's *Silver Tokens of Great Britain*, 1866, it is stated that in the early part of last century, when numerous private tokens were circulated, the overseers of Birmingham in 1808 issued leather and cardboard notes—the leather token was of the value of five shillings.

The same money is mentioned in Davis's *Nineteenth Century*

Token Coinage, 1904, where the author tells us that one of these original leather tokens, formerly the property of R. L. Grew, is in his own possession, and is signed by T. Saddington and Jas. Welch. It is in the form of a note, and Mr. Davis has now kindly sent it for inspection with the following description :—

5/-

Birmingham Workhouse.

The Overseers of the Poor will pay the Bearer

FIVE SHILLINGS.

On Acc^t. of the Parish. }
Entd. T. Saddington. }

Jas. Welch, Cashier.

With it Mr. Davis forwarded two varieties of card notes issued by the Birmingham Overseers for two shillings and sixpence each, and says that probably these were also issued in leather. He further enclosed a leather medal inscribed: BIRMINGHAM AND STAFFORDSHIRE GAS LIGHT COMPANY, 1825, mentioning that the Company was established in 1821, and that this leather medal is the only one he has seen of any company. The medal is circular, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter and $\frac{5}{16}$ of an inch thick.

Scotland also has its traditions of a leather currency, for, according to the "*Historie of Scotland*, written in Latin by Iohne Leslie Bishop of Rosse," translated by Jas. Dalrymple in 1596,¹ Bishop Leslie, referring to the mythical Reutha, King of Scotland, who is alleged to have reigned B.C. 187-173, says :

"This King mairower was the first author vnto his people of merchandise quhairfor gret merkatis, now called faires, he institute in sindrie places, and to the end that the pryce of the waires the mair esilie mycht be payet, the pennie he causet be cuinzet of a buffill hyde, to wit sik kynde of lathir, because afor him in Albion was na vsse for stricken or cuinzet money."

It is traditionally stated that at the old Palace of Linlithgow, which was used as a place of mintage in the days of the Stuarts,

¹ *Scottish Text Society*, 1885.

leather money was issued during Queen Mary's reign and at earlier periods, but no authentic information is obtainable of this currency.

In the Manx Society's *Transactions* for 1864, vol. xi, a reprint is given of a description of the Isle of Man, by George Weldron, first published in 1726, in which it is stated that—

Formerly their current money was leather, which every man of substance was entitled to make, not exceeding a certain quantity limited by a law then in force ; this had no other impression than the maker's name and date of the year.

The editor of the reprint, William Harrison, a member of the House of Keys, adds the following note :—

According to Bishop Merrick's letter to Camden, there appears to have been a coin in circulation peculiar to the Island, and about the time, 1570, leather money was used for local purposes.

In the same *Transactions*, 1869, vol. xvii, the late Dr. Charles Clay, of Manchester, contributed a paper which deals exhaustively with the entire Manx currency, and in it states that "leather money, or leather stamped with the *trie Cassyn*, was said to be in circulation as money from 1570 to 1580, but not very clearly proved, except as marks on hides or skins." This species of money was alluded to by Bishop Merrick and by Train, the Manx historian.

In Ireland, the firm of Malcolmson Brothers, flax spinners, of Mayfield Works, Portlaw, near Waterford, issued leather money in pence and halfpence, which was current amongst their own work-people.

The partners in this firm were all members of the Society of Friends, and in addition to their linen works at Portlaw, were engaged as shipbuilders at Waterford, and were also largely interested in the corn-milling industry in the South of Ireland. The firm enjoyed a reputation for stability and solvency, and their tokens were freely accepted as cash by the tradespeople in the district and for a radius of twenty miles round. Their leather pieces continued in circulation as late as the year 1876. The same firm also issued card money representing several different values, and these tokens were also locally spoken of as leather money.

The larger pieces bear the name of the firm as *M Bros* above the date, surrounded by the denomination and MAYFIELD FACTORY ;

the reverse is similar, but a signature replaces the name. The fourpence omits the outer legend, and the denomination is across the field.

I have been favoured by Mr. C. Morley, of Milfort, Portlaw, with the following specimens for inspection :—

Half-crown, dated 1854 ; circular.

One shilling, „ „ ; „

Fourpence, undated ; octagonal.

In the Science and Art Museum, Dublin, there are four similar examples of this card money, namely :—

Shilling, 1842 ; circular.

Fourpence, 1839 ; octagonal.

„ undated ; octagonal. Two varieties.

In the mining and manufacturing districts of this country previous to the passing of the Truck Act, 1 and 2 William IV., most employers kept or favoured a warehouse, or shop, at which the workpeople were supplied with food and clothing, and it was customary to give advance notes to the workpeople on account of work done, to enable them to be supplied with the necessaries of life. The method frequently adopted was to give checks or tallies representing money, and made of leather, tin or other material, to be exchanged at these shops, and at the settling or “pay day” very little actual cash was needed to balance accounts.

The shops were usually called “Tommy Shops,” possibly from the old Anglo-Saxon *tom*, meaning void or hungry, and are so named in Lord Beaconsfield’s novel, *Sybil*. The term still remains as applied to provision shops in the North of England, and it is not improbable that the equally common expression “on strap,” for obtaining anything on credit, may also be a survival of the Truck system, when leather checks, usually stamped out of the old straps used to drive the machinery, were the tokens by which the working people obtained their food and clothing without the means of a cash payment.

The specimens of leather tokens which have been preserved to us are but few in number and proportionately rare. This may be explained by the fact of the material of which they were made possessing no intrinsic value, hence, after serving their purpose for the time being, they would soon be thrown away as useless.

1346-1886.



THE BRONZE POT OF ABERDEEN.

Found in Upperkirkgate, Aberdeen, May 31st, 1886, containing 12,267 coins, and now preserved in the Art Gallery and Museum, Aberdeen. From a painting.

TREASURE TROVE IN THE NORTH OF SCOTLAND.

BY G. M. FRASER,

Librarian of the Public Library, Aberdeen.

THE comparatively few finds of Roman coins in the north of Scotland are just another illustration of how the science of numismatics is the handmaid of history. There are isolated examples of these discoveries north of Aberdeenshire, but they are comparatively few, and such as might have occurred if the Roman arms had never penetrated further north than what are now known as the Grampians, but which in the early centuries bore the humbler name of the "Munth," or Mount. There are the instances of a coin of Titus being dug up at Forres, in 1843, and on another occasion a coin of Claudius Gothicus, A.D. 268-270, found at Cullen, which is also on the Moray Firth. In 1860, a Greek coin of Nero, struck at Corinth, was found at Burghead in the same neighbourhood, and a few years since, a coin of Marcus Aurelius at Mortlach, Banffshire, also a copper coin of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 138; and about the same time a gold coin of Vespasian was found at Inverurie, fifteen miles north of Aberdeen. But the largest find of Roman coins in this region was on the banks of the Dee, about ten miles west of the city of Aberdeen. About eight miles from the city is the well-marked site of a military camp, known locally as Norman Dykes, but its character as a Roman fort is attested by certain features in its construction. It was in the immediate neighbourhood of this, that many years ago a number of silver coins were found in a moss. Their precise denominations do not appear to have been ascertained beyond the fact that they were coins of the empire, and the supposition is that, for some reason or other,

they had been buried in the neighbourhood of the camp when Agricola was on his return march from the north.

Not far from where these Roman coins were found, several billon pieces of Francis and Mary were recovered in 1841. A number of other archæological discoveries have been made in the district, which is notable as having been the seat of a community of the Knights Templars, and their successors, the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

Six years later, quite a large discovery of coins of this character was made in the city of Aberdeen itself. In digging for the foundation of extended business premises near Marischal College, workmen came upon three bags, two of leather and the third of a canvas material, buried about three feet below the surface. The bags proved to contain a hoard of several thousands of billon coins, namely, lions or hardheads of Mary and Francis, of date 1558, but most of them were in a poor state of preservation. How they came to be buried there cannot be stated with certainty, but it is very probable that they were placed where they were found as a temporary expedient by one of the monastic houses of the city. Marischal College was founded partly on the site of the Grey Friars Monastery, and in 1559, when it became very clear that—for a time, at all events—all ecclesiastical property in the city was to be seized, perhaps destroyed, by the Reformers, the community of the Grey Friars voluntarily resigned their whole property, temporarily as they hoped, into the hands of the Town Council. By discoveries of bones at the spot where the find of the Mary and Francis lions occurred, it has been ascertained that this was the burial ground of the Order, and there can be little doubt that the Friars, who had come into possession of this considerable mintage of the previous year, buried it in the graveyard against the dawning of a happier day for their Church.

Many other minor discoveries of coins have been made in Aberdeen during the past century. In 1807, when Union Street, the principal street of the city, had just been formed, and a number of old buildings were being cleared away to form St. Nicholas Street, now the principal business thoroughfare from Union Street to the north, workmen came upon a wooden vessel, about ten feet underground, containing a large quantity of silver coins. While they were yet available, a

number of the coins were identified as of the mintages of Edward I. of England and Alexander III. of Scotland, but it may be doubted whether the identification was particularly technical. As no one in authority took any special interest in the find, the coins were very quickly scattered among the workmen and others, so that no part of this trove appears to have been preserved. A week later, on almost the same spot, workmen discovered an earthen jar containing about eighteen hundred silver coins, also of Edward I. and Alexander III., and, fortunately, possession of these was taken by the authorities, and they were lodged in the Town House. With regard to these discoveries the supposition has always been that the coins formed part of the treasure of the army of Edward III., whose troops operated in Aberdeen and neighbourhood from about 1330 onwards, and in 1336 completely burned down the town.

A find of an almost similar character was made in 1827, at Footdee, on the eastern extremity of the city of Aberdeen, near the Ferry, which was one of the two points of crossing the Dee to and from Aberdeen until the sixteenth century. Some workmen were digging a sewer, when they unearthed a considerable bulk of gold and silver coins. A contemporary description tells that "the greater part of them were silver, larger than a shilling," and such as were examined at all critically were set down as coins of the earliest Edwards. The coins were deposited under some stones which had evidently been carefully placed over the treasure for security.

It would be curious if no discovery of coins had been made in the neighbourhood of Exchequer Row, Aberdeen, the small street, still known by this name, where the Aberdeen Mint stood throughout its history. As a matter of fact no find of coins actually struck at Aberdeen has ever been made there, although coins of the Aberdeen mint are not uncommon, chiefly groats, and half-groats of the Davids, and, fortunately, they may be examined in the British Museum, as well as in local collections. But in the adjoining small and old street that runs from the Exchequer Row to the harbour, named the Shiprow—*i.e.*, the Ship Rue—whilst some repairs were being made to an old house, dating from the Reformation, quite a quantity of coins and

trinkets was discovered. Most of the coins were copper twopenny pieces, or turners, of Charles I., and in all probability they had lain hid in this old house—which was once the residence of the Provost of Aberdeen—from about the date of their mintage.

The most important treasure trove of Aberdeen—indeed, the largest find of coins that has ever been made in Scotland—was the discovery of the locally-celebrated “Bronze Pot.” On the 31st of May, 1886, workmen were busy excavating some foundation works in the Upperkirkgate, one of the old boundary streets of Aberdeen, when the foreman drove his pick into some hard substance, that gave out a sharp metallic ring, and examination brought to light a bronze pot, from which, through the hole that the workman’s pick had made, a small stream of silver coins began to make its way. The pot proved to contain considerably over 12,000 silver pennies, or sterlings. The amount of the find had only once before been approached, in Scotland, namely, by the Montraive treasure trove, in Fifeshire, which contained 9,615 coins, consisting of groats, half-groats, and pennies.

The treasure was, as usual, and, indeed, with great probability, set down as part of the pay chest of one of the English armies that swept over the North of Scotland about the middle of the fourteenth century. The magnitude of the treasure quickly brought on the scene the officials of the Exchequer, and the pot and as many of the coins as could be taken possession of, or recovered by offers of reward, were deposited for examination in the Exchequer Offices, Edinburgh. Altogether complete coins to the number of 12,247 were recovered, and fragments of about 20 others, making in all 12,267. The names of the mints—and for details relative to these, as also regarding the distribution of the coins, I am indebted to the courtesy of Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, the King’s and Lord Treasurer’s Remembrancer, Edinburgh—of the 12,267 coins are as follows :—

ENGLISH.

Edwards I., II., and III. :—

						Number of coins.
Berwick	...	...	...	...	...	220
Bristol	...	...	...	...	...	275

ENGLISH.

	Number of coins.
Bury St. Edmund's	408
Canterbury	3,179
Chester... ..	21
Durham	1,115
Exeter	15
Kingston (Hull)	16
Lincoln	106
London	5,883
Newcastle	153
York	272
Robert de Hadeleie, Moneyer	20
Dublin (3 without triangle)	59
Waterford (2 without triangle)	21
Aquitaine—Edward III. deniers	4

SCOTTISH.

Alexander III.	113
Robert Bruce	8
John Baliol, 3 of St. Andrews and 7 "Rex Scotorum"	11

FOREIGN STERLINGS.

Robert III. de Bethune, Count of Flanders, struck at Alost, 1305-1322	12
Robert III. de Bethune, Count of Flanders, struck at "Gandes" (Ghent)	1
Arnold, Count of Loos, 1280-1323	3
Ferri IV. of Lorraine, 1312-1328	2
Edward, Count of Bar	3
John, Count of Luxemburg, as King of Bohemia and Poland, 1311-1346	7
Gaucher II. de Chatillion, 1314-1328, struck at Yoe	55
John d'Avesnes, Count of Hainault and Holland, 1280-1304, struck at Mons	7
Gauleran II. de Luxemburg, Lord of Ligny, 1304-1353	8
Louis IV., Count of Flanders, 1314-1347, struck at Aix la Chapelle "Moneta Aquensis"	5

FOREIGN STERLINGS.				Number of coins.
Gui de Dampierre, Marquis of Namur, Count of Flanders, 1280-1305				3
William of Avesnes, Bishop of Cambray, 1292-1295				1
John III., Duke of Brabant, 1312-1355 ...				6
Not deciphered and some illegible				27
Corroded and almost illegible, but appearing to be of London and Canterbury				208
Fragments of about				20
Total ...				12,267

Of the 12,267 coins recovered, 12,193 were obtained from the finders, and 74 were recovered from individuals. A number of the coins, 62 in all, were purchased by Her late Majesty, Queen Victoria, viz. :—10 of Berwick, 12 of Bristol, 4 of Chester, 12 of Durham, 3 of Exeter, 4 of Waterford, 1 of Aquitaine, 12 of Alexander III., 2 of Robert Bruce, and 2 of John Baliol. 405 of the coins, including specimens of all the mints, were handed over to the National Collection of Antiquities, Edinburgh, leaving 11,800 coins for further disposal, as also the bronze pot, of which an illustration is here given.

Naturally, there was a strong wish in Aberdeen to retain for the city the remarkable vessel in which the treasure had been found, and specimens of the various types and mintages in the collection. Application to this effect was made to the Exchequer in Edinburgh by the Lord Provost of the city, and the application was met by the Exchequer officials in an admirable spirit. It was arranged that after deducting the coins purchased by Her late Majesty, those preserved for the National Collection in Edinburgh, and a few which had been returned to local collectors who had purchased them, the Town Council of Aberdeen and the University Authorities should be at liberty to select from the remaining hoard of 11,800 coins, specimens of any or all the types, the price to be at the same nominal rate as the valuation put upon the coins for the purposes of the reward by the Crown Authorities. This arrangement was duly carried out, and the Town Council and the


University, acting conjointly through an expert in Edinburgh, selected 129 coins, including all the mints, and to the great satisfaction of the townspeople the famous "Bronze Pot," and the 129 selected coins were duly returned for preservation in Aberdeen on the 7th of January, 1888.

This was not quite the end of the story. For once, the Exchequer was more liberal than was expected. The total outlay of the Crown Authorities in connection with the matter amounted to £3 reward to the finder of the pot, £136 17s. 6d. reward on recovery of coins, and £15 19s. 3d. legal expenses, in all £155 16s. 9d. It was arranged that on recouping the Exchequer for the reward money, £139 odd, Aberdeen should have not merely the bronze pot and the 129 selected coins, but the whole residue of the treasure trove, after supplying certain local collections throughout the country. This arrangement was carried out in 1891, and on the 30th of May of that year the Lord Provost of Aberdeen received a parcel containing 10,742 complete coins, and fragments of 20 others, 10,762 in all, for preservation and distribution.

The "Bronze Pot"—a most familiar name to the citizens of Aberdeen—is preserved in the Aberdeen Sculpture Gallery and Museum. It may be expected, in due time, to become a sort of palladium of the city. It is of bronze, of a type which still survives to us in the so-called gipsy kettle, and stands 18 inches high, by about 8 inches wide at the neck. When the treasure was buried, a stone had been placed in the mouth of the pot for a lid. One of those who took a great interest in this discovery, was the late Dr. Alexander Walker of Aberdeen, who gifted to the Aberdeen Public Library—of which he was for many years an honoured Member of Committee—the very "life-like" painting of the pot by Mr. W. Smith, junr., of 19, Cathcart Studios, Redcliffe Road, Kensington, with which this paper is illustrated.

A NOTE ON COIN CLIPPINGS AND CHURCH PLATE IN DERBYSHIRE.

BY THE REV. J. CHARLES COX, LL.D., F.S.A.

HOSE who have read Mr. Roth's interesting paper on "Finds of Clippings of Silver Coins" in the first volume of this *Journal*,¹ will, perhaps, contrast the probably nefarious origin of the clippings presently noted, with their ultimate destiny, and again point the moral that extremes meet.

The church plate of Alderwasley, an old chapelry of Wirksworth, Derbyshire, consists of chalice, paten, flagon, and alms-dish, all bearing the hall-mark for 1849. Beneath the base of the chalice is inscribed "Alderwasley Chapel, 1849."

With the plate is, or was, kept a broken earthenware jar labelled :—

March 27, 1846. Found in Bacon Meadow, Alderwasley, filled with 8 lbs. weight of clippings of silver coins of the reign of Charles I., etc. They were made into Church Plate, 1849.

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. i, pp. 149-162.

REVIEWS.

The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society, 1905. Quaritch, London, 20s. (issued in four quarterly numbers at 5s. each, 8vo, paper covers).

Interesting to the collector as the pages of the *Numismatic Chronicle* are, the reviewer looks for something more. He, at the least, expects that those who write for the edification of others, have taken the trouble to keep themselves posted to date with the modern literature of their particular subjects. It is in this respect that the *Chronicle* is sadly wanting. The numismatic world has not stood still since *Ruding*, *Hawkins*, and the *British Museum Catalogue* were published, and yet in the British sections they are quoted over and over again in preference to anything of a modern character. For example, it is now some years since the first volume of the *British Numismatic Journal* was issued, and although it has illustrated and published thousands of British and Irish coins, it has not yet dawned upon the sleepy intelligence of the contributors to the *Numismatic Chronicle*, for not a single reference to its volumes has yet appeared. This is but one instance of the many that could be given to prove an absolute lack of energy on the part of those who would fain teach others what they know not themselves, but it is sufficient to show the diffidence one feels in essaying to review an old-fashioned Journal conducted on old-fashioned principles, and yet to do justice to its good intentions.

The *Chronicle* for the year 1905 devotes a larger share of its pages than usual to the subject of British numismatics, which includes the following :—

A Recent Find of Roman Coins in Scotland, by George Macdonald, M.A. During excavations at Gartshore, in the parish of Kirkintilloch, on the site of one of the stations of the Antonine Vallum, thirteen

denarii were found at the bottom of the Roman well. The earliest in date represented the legionary denarii of Antony, and the others the reigns of Vespasian, Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian and M. Aurelius. Incidentally, Mr. Macdonald tells us, on the authority of Dr. Haverfield, that the Roman silver coins found in Scotland are as a rule not earlier than the time of Nero, nor later than that of Commodus. The interest of this small find, however, lies in the fact that only the two earliest in date of the coins were struck in silver; of the others, one—the Hadrian—was base, and the remaining ten were imitation denarii moulded in tin. The writer explains this upon the hypothesis that they were specially manufactured for devotional purposes, as “the throwing of money into wells was a very familiar phenomenon”; and he instances the facts that false coins similarly found their way into the treasuries of Greek temples, and in China “coins of paper are regularly manufactured to be used as offerings by devout worshippers.” Mr. Macdonald’s explanation will meet with general acceptance, and I may add that it will account for the frequent discovery of moulds for the manufacture of denarii within the crowded sites of Roman forts, where the secret practice of forgery would be impossible. As such moulds have been found at Lingwell-Gate in Yorkshire, at Leeds, Wakefield and Lincoln, at Castor and Duston in Northamptonshire, and at other places in Britain,¹ at Damery and Lyons in France, and elsewhere on the Continent, the custom was evidently general, and too open to have been the work of the forger. At Duston three moulds were found in the well itself, and in the volume under review is an account by Mr. J. G. Milne of many recently discovered at Alexandria; but he does not refer to Mr. Macdonald’s explanation and inclines to the old idea of forgery.

Rare or Unpublished Coins of Carausius, by Sir John Evans, K.C.B. In this paper the author describes twenty-six varieties of the silver and copper coinage of Carausius, all of which are illustrated. One of these, No. 8, throws an interesting light on the Emperor’s title as given on a Roman milestone discovered near Carlisle and read by Dr. Haverfield:—

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1839, p. 147; 1871, p. 28, etc.

IMP C M
AVRMAVS
CARAVSIO PF
INVICTO AVG

Dr. Haverfield suggests¹ that MAVS may be a blunder for ARAVS in the next line, and M. Mowat that the word may be a contraction of the name MAVSAIVS. The coin in question proves that MAVS represents a name, for its full obverse legend is IMP C M AV M CARAVSIVS P F AVG for *Imperator Cæsar Marcus Aurelius M..... Carausius &c.*, but what that name is Sir John Evans is not quite prepared to say. Perhaps when Mr. Willoughby Gardner in a future volume of the *British Numismatic Journal*, describes the large hoard of the coins of Carausius recently found on the Little Orme's Head, North Wales, some further evidence on this question may be forthcoming. Sir John Evans is to be congratulated upon having "added some new types and varieties to the long list already known of the coins of an emperor who, whatever there may be to say against him, was the first who claimed, and for some years secured, the independence of this kingdom of Britain."

Roman Coins from Croydon (Constantius II., Constans, Magnentius and Gallus), by G. F. Hill, M.A.

This hoard was found in excavating a drain-trench opposite No. 46, Wandle Road, Croydon, in March, 1903. It was contained in two pots, one of red clay, being decorated with a row of circular pits between parallel lines forming a single band of pattern, and the other plain, of grey clay and harder ware, and it comprised a total of about 3,600 coins usually termed "second brass." Mr. Hill laments that "every numismatist worthy of the name must deplore the way in which hoards are dispersed before they have been properly examined; but so long as collectors are allowed to defy the law of treasure-trove with impunity, it is hopeless to expect that hoards, to which the law unfortunately does not apply, should escape the hands of the spoiler." Mr. Hill is an official of the British Museum, the defendant body in the great treasure-trove case of 1903, "The Attorney General *v.* the

¹ *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Archaeological Society*, 1895, p. 437.

Trustees of the British Museum,"¹ and therefore ought to be aware that even the British Museum "as collectors, are '*not*' allowed to defy the law of treasure-trove with impunity." It is entirely due to the unsatisfactory and unpopular provisions of this law that hoards of coins are secretly dispersed, and the finders are rarely competent to draw the legal distinction between silver and gold which do, and copper which fortunately does not come within the Act. The fact that there is never any mystery or difficulty in connection with discoveries of prehistoric implements, Roman masonry, pottery or later iron relics, does not support Mr. Hill's lament.

Although of local interest, the find is of the usual order, and adds nothing to our general knowledge; but it is carefully described and useful for reference. Incidentally Mr. Hill refers to a previous discovery at Croydon, in 1852, of 600 or 700 "small" and a few "middle brass" ranging between the times of Magnentius and Decentius. They were contained in a leather purse, protected by a pot, and found in a stone sarcophagus at Rheinzabern.

Edward the Confessor and his Coins, by P. Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A.

A propos of treasure-trove, the editors seem to have unearthed this paper from the sarcophagus of their pigeon-holes, for it was read to the Society as long ago as May, 1903, and put aside pending less important matter. Until it was written, the types of the Confessor were not only in chaos, but, to quote Mr. Carlyon-Britton's words, "if reference be made to vol. ii of the *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum*, it will be seen that the compilers of that volume in the preliminary 'Description of Types' assign no less than seventeen types (in addition to varieties) to this monarch's reign of approximately twenty-three years and seven months (8th June, 1042, to 5th January, 1066)." When, therefore, Mr. Carlyon-Britton is able by the exclusion of *mules* or combination coins, to reduce the total to eleven, although in that number he includes type III, variety C,² of Hildebrand and the Museum Catalogue, and to place them in their true

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, i, p. 333 *et seq.*

² *Sic*, but no doubt Mr. Carlyon-Britton means type C, varieties C and D of Hildebrand, and type III, variety C, of the Museum Catalogue.

chronological order, the treatise must rank amongst the most important contributions ever made to the *Numismatic Chronicle*. The evidence he offers to prove the order of their issue is as remarkable as it is convincing, for, by the recognised rule of the sequence of types which appear in combination on the *mule* coins, he is able to connect either with its immediate predecessor or successor, and in most instances with both, every type of the reign; therefore, there can be no question that he has finally solved the mystery of the chronological order of the coinages of Edward the Confessor.

Commencing with the before-mentioned variety, type C, varieties C and D of Hildebrand, he draws attention to the fact that instead of being a mere variety of Hawkins type 220, which has a similar obverse, it was, in fact, the type current at the time of Eadward's accession, namely, Hawkins type 217 of Harthacnut, which the new king continued with the mere correction of his own name. The following table prepared from Mr. Carlyon-Britton's paper will epitomise the subject:—

Order of type.	References.			Approximate period of issue.	Mules connecting.	
	Hawkins.	Brit. Mus. Catalogue.	Hildebrand.		Obverse.	Reverse.
I	IV variety	III var. C.	C var. D ¹	June, 1042, to Sept. 29th, 1042	—	Harthacnut.
II	226	I	A	Sept., 1042-1045	I	II
III	220	III	C	" 1045-1048	II	III
IV	229	II	B	" 1048-1051	III	IV
V	221	IV	D	" 1051-1053	—	—
VI	219	V	E	" 1053-1055	V	VI
VII	227	VII	F	" 1055-1057	VI	VII
VIII	228	IX	H	" 1057-1059	VII	VIII
IX	222	XI	G	" 1059-1061	VIII	IX
X	225	XIII	A var. C	" 1061-1063	IX	X
XI	IX	XV	I var. B	" 1063-1065	X	XI
XI with reverse similar to that of Harold II. }	XI	XVII	L {	Sept. 29th, 1065-Christmas, 1065	XI XI	Harold, William I., Hawkins, 234.

¹ See previous note.

In addition to the above the author describes all the known varieties and, so far as the types of the reign are concerned, his monograph is complete. The paper is well illustrated with autotype reproductions of thirty-three coins representing the types, *mules* and principal varieties.

A Find of Coins of Stephen and Henry II. at Awbridge, near Romsey, by H. A. Grueber, F.S.A.

A careful record of a find of early coins is always a valuable contribution to our knowledge and, as I have before remarked, except that he usually ignores the importance of giving any weights of the coins, and this instance is no exception to his rule, Mr. Grueber's descriptions are excellent.

He tells us that "about three years ago a farm-house garden was being enlarged in the parish of Awbridge near Romsey, Hampshire, and in the removal of a laurel-hedge there were discovered, about two and a half feet below the surface, all close together as if they had been in a bag which had rotted, some silver coins, about 180 in number. The finder thought little of his discovery, and from time to time disposed of about 50 of the coins to his friends." Of the approximate total, 138, viz., 34 of Stephen and 104 of Henry II., were examined by Mr. Grueber, who describes them as "mostly in poor condition, partly from oxidation and partly from wear, so much so that there was scarcely a well-preserved specimen amongst the pieces of Stephen."

The types comprised :—Stephen, Hawkins 270, three coins, but all of the variety with reverse "double cross moline, with annulet at each end and in centre" reading **✠ SANSON ON ANT**¹ attributed to Southampton with a query; Hawkins 268, thirty coins and one variety which Mr. Grueber describes as :—

HUNTINGDON (?)

Obverse.— . **ST** **EX**. Head facing, crowned; sceptre on his left.

¹ Mr. Grueber reads it "O HANT," but the old form H was then obsolete and the letter is clearly N.

Reverse.— **†IM ON·bVN**: Double cross pommée, with annulet in centre; within quatrefoil fleured internally.

Henry II., one hundred and thirty-eight coins, all of Hawkins 285, but these, as the writer says, do not appear to call for any special remarks, although in this small hoard sixteen mints were represented.

Several of Mr. Grueber's paragraphs are well worthy of repetition in full:—

The three coins attributed to Southampton of the type given as Hawkins, No. 270 var. are similar to one described in the Linton find.¹ The Linton coin was said to have been disposed of in the Montagu sale, and was purchased for the National Collection; but this attribution would seem to be uncertain, if the coin itself is compared with the illustration in the *Numismatic Chronicle*. Whether the attribution of these coins to Southampton is correct, I am not at the present moment prepared to say, since **ANT** could as well be an abbreviation of **SANT** (St. Edmundsbury) as for **hANT** (Southampton). There is a coin of Henry II. in this hoard with the moneyer's name **2AN2VN**, who may be the same as the moneyer, supposed to be of Southampton, but unfortunately the mint-name is entirely obliterated.

Mr. Walters, who has seen the coin,² suggests that **ANT** is an abbreviation for **TANT** (Taunton), the A and T being combined. He also draws attention to the fact that Hawkins 270 is the only published type of Stephen known of Taunton.

It may interest Mr. Walters to know that there is documentary evidence to prove that Sansun, the moneyer, was a tenant of the Bishop of Winchester, who, of course, was closely connected with the town of Taunton.

The coin which I have ventured to give to Huntingdon is an interesting variety of Hawkins, No. 268, in having on the obverse the head only of the King, with the sceptre on his left instead of on his right, as in the case of the usual type. It is unfortunate that this interesting coin is so rubbed and clipped as to make the legends scarcely decipherable, and the mint-name somewhat doubtful, but the letters **h** and **N** are fairly clear, whilst the base of the **V** can just be traced. The moneyer's name begins with the letters **IM**, but I am unable to suggest its completion.

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1883, p. 114.

² *Sic*. There were three.

The lettering on the obverse is still more indistinct than that on the reverse, but one seems to see traces of the letters **STI** on the right of the head, and **EX** on the left. . . . Besides having the sceptre on the King's left, the coin is of rude work, and the mint-mark on the reverse is not the usual cross pattée, but a cross pommée fitchée. It is unfortunate that the coin is not better preserved, as otherwise it might have supplied some important data both numismatic and historical.

One would have thought that this "rude work," coupled with the fact that the die has evidently been copied from a coin without reversal, supported my remark in *Henry I.* that the mint of Huntingdon ceased to exist coincidentally with the death of Henry, Prince of Scotland and Earl of Huntingdon, for it suggests the hand of a Scottish die-sinker, but Mr. Grueber evidently thinks otherwise as appears in his next paragraph. A very similar coin was issued at Carlisle during Earl Henry's tenure of that earldom.

Surely we all have had enough of *Henry I.*? I thought Mr. Grueber had, and I am sure I have. If only critics like Mr. Grueber would point out some of its many defects it would be interesting, but I am tired of correcting arm-chair criticism which the writer is too lazy to verify by reference to even ordinary authorities. Perhaps, if I now contrast what Mr. Grueber says with what he ought to have known, it may again point my previous remark that contributors to the *Numismatic Chronicle* would fain teach others what they know not themselves, and it may save a repetition of careless criticism. This is what he says, but the italics are mine:—

Mr. Andrew tells us that the mint of Huntingdon was in operation towards the end of the reign of Henry I. (1128–1131), during a portion of which time David King of Scotland, who was Earl of Huntingdon, was there, and held an inquiry touching the alleged treason of Geoffrey de Clinton, the King's justiciary for that county. Mr. Andrew further remarks that the mint was closed after the departure of David, in 1130, but was reopened in Stephen's time, probably by David's son, Prince Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, and ceased to exist coincidentally with his death. It would be very interesting to be able to connect these coins¹ with Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, but that seems scarcely possible, if Mr. Andrew's theory holds good, that the mint was only in operation

¹ Referring to the variety of Hawkins 268 previously described, and to an ordinary specimen of the same type and of the Huntingdon mint in the National collection.

when the lord of the manor was resident there, for the date at which I would fix this issue, viz., during the last years of Stephen, would be after the Earl's death or only shortly before, *when he was certainly not in this country*. Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, was born in 1114, and died in 1152. He was confirmed in his title as Earl by Stephen at Carlisle, in 1136, and was in England during the years 1138-1140. It was in this last year that he married Ada, daughter of Earl de Warenne, and *there is no record*, so far as I am aware, *of his ever having again visited England*.

In other words, my theory is to stand or fall on an incidental remark of my own, that the mint of Huntingdon was opened and closed coincidentally with the advent and death of Earl Henry. Mr. Grueber assigns the issue of the type in question to "the last years of Stephen," but so that he may close in his argument, defines these "years" to "after the Earl's death or shortly before"; yet there was but an interval of one year four months and thirteen days between the death of the Earl and that of the King. Agreeing that Hawkins 268 was the last type of Stephen's reign, we may safely assume that it was being issued for at least two or three years prior to Earl Henry's decease, as the usual period of issue of types had been extended to four or five years at the close of the reign of Henry I., and although Stephen's decease was an unforeseen circumstance, the extent of the issue of the type proves that it had been in circulation for several years.

What I mean by arm-chair criticism is, that what Mr. Grueber probably did was to refer to that excellent work, the *Dictionary of National Biography*, as the method of least trouble. Now, the Dictionary is content to record the life of Earl Henry until about the year 1140, and then, owing no doubt to exigencies of space, cuts the story short with a mere reference to his death. Mr. Grueber therefore cuts his story short, and, because he is told no more, jumps to the conclusion that the Earl suddenly disappeared beyond our ken to Scotland.

In 1136 at Durham, not Carlisle as Mr. Grueber states, Henry was invested with the earldoms of Carlisle, Huntingdon, Doncaster (Norgate) and Northampton (Sir A. C. Lawrie).

In 1139 at the treaty of Durham, he received the earldom of Northumberland, excepting Newcastle and Bamborough (Norgate, Richard of Hexham, etc.). From this date the earldoms of Huntingdon

and Northampton were also claimed by his half-brother St. Liz, whilst Henry was also a claimant to the honour of Bedford. In 1139, not 1140 as Mr. Grueber states, he married Ada de Warrenne (Lawrie).

Henry was English on his mother's side and inherited his earldoms through her. So far from leaving this country for Scotland, he was the most influential potentate in the North of England, residing usually at his palace at Corbridge in Northumberland, but sometimes at Huntingdon and Carlisle. With the exception of occasional visits to his father's court, there is no record, so far as I am aware, of his ever having left his earldoms; and the contemporary chronicler Ordericus tells us that after his marriage "his close connection with the Normans and English became permanent." We will now see what his record¹ was when, according to Mr. Grueber, "he was certainly not in this country."

1140. Earl Henry, accompanied by his countess, visits Stephen's court. (Hexham.)

„ At Newcastle executes a charter to the Church of Durham. (Lawrie.)

1141. Executes a grant of lands to the Church of Durham. (Lawrie.)

„ Assists William Cumyn, who seized the Castle of Durham and held the bishopric by force of arms. (Simeon; Lawrie.)

„ Grants a charter of protection to the Church of Durham. (Lawrie.)

„ At Durham Castle grants several charters. (Lawrie.)

1142. Is concerned throughout the year in the troubles at Durham. (Simeon; Lawrie.)

„ Executes a charter at Berwick. (Lawrie.)

1143. Still concerned in the troubles of the Palatinate. (Simeon; Lawrie.)

1144. Raises an army in Northumberland, ostensibly on behalf of the elected bishop, and seizes Thornelaw Castle, but is alleged to have secretly favoured Cumyn and refused to surrender it to the Bishop. (Hexham; Simeon.)

¹ There are many more similar records, but the following are sufficient for my present purpose.

- 1145. At *Huntingdon* grants a charter to the Church of Durham.
(Lawrie.)
- 1146. At Carlisle witnesses a charter. (Lawrie.)
,, One of the officers of his forces killed in Northumberland.
(Hexham.)
- 1147-1152. Grants lands at Berwick. (Lawrie.)
- 1150. At Carlisle, present at the knighting of Duke Henry.
(Hexham.)
,, Founds Holmcultram Abbey in Cumberland. (Lawrie.)
,, At Carlisle, meets the Earl of Chester and releases his
rights in the honour of Lancaster to him, upon agree-
ment for the marriage of the latter's son to his daughter.
(Hexham.)
,, VI. Ides November, at Corbridge, grants a charter.
(Lawrie.)
- 1150-1152. Grants his charter to Holmcultram. (Lawrie.)
- 1151. Receives Cardinal John in state at Carlisle. (Hexham.)
- 1152. June 12, "Henry Earl of Northumberland died." (Lawrie.)

It will be noticed that wherever possible I have preferred to quote the dates from Sir Archibald C. Lawrie's valuable work, *Early Scottish Charters*. May I suggest that it will save trouble in the future if Mr. Grueber, or anyone else, will ask me for my authorities before jumping at conclusions, so simple to refute, for I will gladly give them?

Nevertheless, the paper is otherwise excellent, and as I hope to embody its useful list of Stephen's coins in my forthcoming numismatic history of that reign, I need not copy it here.

A Hoard of Edward Pennies found at Lochmaben, by George Macdonald, M.A. In October, 1904, during draining operations in a park near Lochmaben, Dumfriesshire, an earthenware vessel containing a number of coins was disclosed. The vessel showed remains of a yellowish-green glaze, and "was almost an exact counterpart" of that which contained the find at Neville's Cross. There are said to have been 476 coins in all, of which 448 were examined. They comprised 422 English pennies of the Edwardian issues, 5 Irish of the same period, 9 long-cross pennies of Alexander III. of Scotland, and 12

foreign sterlings of contemporary dates, all, save one of the last named, being in good condition.

Mr. Macdonald is to be congratulated upon advancing a step towards the elucidation of the division of the Edwardian series in his careful sub-divisions of the lettering on the coins, a classification which is new and will undoubtedly prove useful, but too intricate for repetition.

There were 155 pennies reading **✠ EDW R**, etc. These comprise the mints of London, Bristol, Canterbury, Chester, Durham, Lincoln, Newcastle and York ; 175 reading **✠ EDW T R** etc., of London, Berwick, Bury St. Edmund's, Canterbury and Durham ; 83 reading **✠ EDW T R R** etc., of London, Bury St. Edmund's, Canterbury and Durham ; 6 reading **✠ EDW T R D R** etc., of London ; 3 reading **✠ EDW REX**¹ etc., of London.

The proportions of these figures are, as Mr. Macdonald rightly urges, weighty evidence in favour of re-assigning the series reading **✠ EDW REX**¹ etc., to Edward I. It is unfortunate that no find, so far as reliable records are forthcoming, is quite conclusive on this much debated question, but that in review goes far towards proving the case ; and if only Mr. Neck's report of the Northampton find, which Mr. Macdonald quotes, were not a little ambiguous on one point, it would be solved. Surely, however, the lettering and general workmanship of these coins ought to be their warranty.

The Coinage of Henry IV., by L. A. Lawrence. This is a detailed account of the silver coinage of the reign, but as it is written by Mr. Lawrence, whose contributions on mediæval coinage to the *British Numismatic Journal* will, I trust, presently include a treatise on this reign, I need not analyse it here.

Under the same heading, Mr. Frederick A. Walters, F.S.A., treats the subject at greater length, and includes the gold coinage. His views by no means coincide with those of Mr. Lawrence, and it will be interesting to await fresh arguments *pro et contra*. The theory propounded, that during the first thirteen years of his reign, Henry IV. continued to issue groats struck from the dies, and consequently

¹ Mr. Macdonald prints this word REX, but his illustration does not support that form of the letter E.

bearing the name of his predecessor, Richard II., will, I hope, be reconsidered by Mr. Walters, as, apart from the fact that such a proceeding would have been a false political move on the part of a despotic usurper, *if* the groat, why not the half-groat, penny, halfpenny and farthing? But this is only one point in what is really a careful and sterling treatise.

Anglo-Gallic Coins, by Lionel M. Hewlett. Mr. Hewlett contributes the first section of his subject, and it will be welcomed, for Anglo-Gallic numismatics have been left in the background quite long enough. Commencing with the reign of Henry II., he continues the series into that of Edward I., describing every variety and carefully giving the weights and detailed particulars; in fact, his work leaves little to be desired, that little, however, being the elucidation of a very interesting historical problem. He commences, as I have remarked, with the reign of Henry II. and explains his reason for so doing as follows:—

We cannot with any certainty attribute to the four previous kings of England any coins struck by them for their Norman possessions. There are, indeed, certain coins struck for Normandy which have been attributed to William I., but these do not bear his title as King of England, and, if rightly attributed to him, were probably struck by him before his accession to the throne of England. They do not, therefore, come within this series.

In this he accepts a proposition which has always passed current in numismatics, but which, if correct, would mean that there was no money coined in Normandy during the whole of the reigns of our four Norman kings. Historical evidence is directly to the contrary. Money of Rouen is constantly mentioned in contemporary charters. Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, agreed to pay Ralph the Viscount thirty pounds "in money of Rouen." In the reign of William II. the Abbey of Preaux was to receive "fifty shillings of Rouen." Henry I. gave the Abbey of Fontevrault "100*l.* in pennies of Rouen money from the rent of my *mint* at Rouen," and in the reign of Stephen, Bernard, Abbot of Mont St. Michel, granted "seven pounds in *new* money of Rouen." There are dozens of similar instances, but one from each reign is sufficient for my purpose. There are corresponding references to other mints in the dukedom, and the coins themselves are not quite absent. For instance, not long ago I saw a penny of William I. with obverse

similar to that of the **PAXS** type and reverse **ARGENTEON** in two lines across the field, showing it to have been struck at Argentan in Orne. The evidence of a large and continuous coinage at Rouen in Norman times is conclusive, but our enquiry for the coins has yet to be made. Mr. Hewlett, however, has but followed in the steps of his predecessors, and he is writing from the coins that he knows, and writing well.

A Find of Coins at Oswestry, by R. Ll. Kenyon, M.A. An account of the ordinary treasure-trove, *temp.* Charles I., which was buried in an earthenware pot in a field adjoining Brynhafod Lane. It comprised 401 silver and 4 gold pieces, extending from the reign of Henry VIII. to the time of the coinage at Shrewsbury in 1642.

A Numismatic Question raised by Shakespeare, by Sir John Evans, K.C.B., is a short but very readable explanation of certain references by Shakespeare to the coinage, such as "seven groats in mill-sixpences and two Edward shovel-boards," *Merry Wives*, I, 1, and "Look where three-farthings goes," *K. John*, I, 1, with quotations of a similar character from other early writers. Shovel-boards, we are told, were the broad five shilling pieces of Edward VI., so called from their use in the old game of that name. Other passages are similarly elucidated.

Under *Miscellanea*, Mr. W. J. Hocking offers the theory that over-struck coins are not re-struck coins at all, but that the apparent effect was caused by the dies being re-used for the succeeding type and the old design not sufficiently obliterated. The suggestion is not new, but the reply is final. As the obverse design had to be engraved on the standard or lower die, and the reverse design on the upper die, it follows that over-struck coins would in that case always bear the impression of the previous obverse type upon the obverse side, and so with the reverse ; whereas over-struck coins as often as not bear previous obverse designs on their reverses and *vice versa*. Moreover, there is a crushed appearance in the nearly obliterated letters and designs.

W. J. ANDREW.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
SESSION 1906.

VOL. III.

2 A

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

SESSION 1906.

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P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A., D.L., J.P.

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RICHARD A. HOBLYN, ESQ., F.S.A.

PHILIP NELSON, ESQ., M.D., CH.B.

W. SHARP OGDEN, ESQ.

H. M. REYNOLDS, ESQ.

F. STROUD, ESQ., Recorder of Tewkesbury.

EDWARD UPTON, ESQ., F.Z.S.

W. J. WEBSTER, ESQ.

CHARLES WELCH, ESQ., F.S.A.

2 A 2

Hon. Auditors.

UNDER CHAPTER XIX OF THE RULES.

H. ST. BARBE GOLDSMITH, ESQ.

ARTHUR G. CHIFFERIEL, ESQ., F.C.A.

Corresponding Members of the Council.

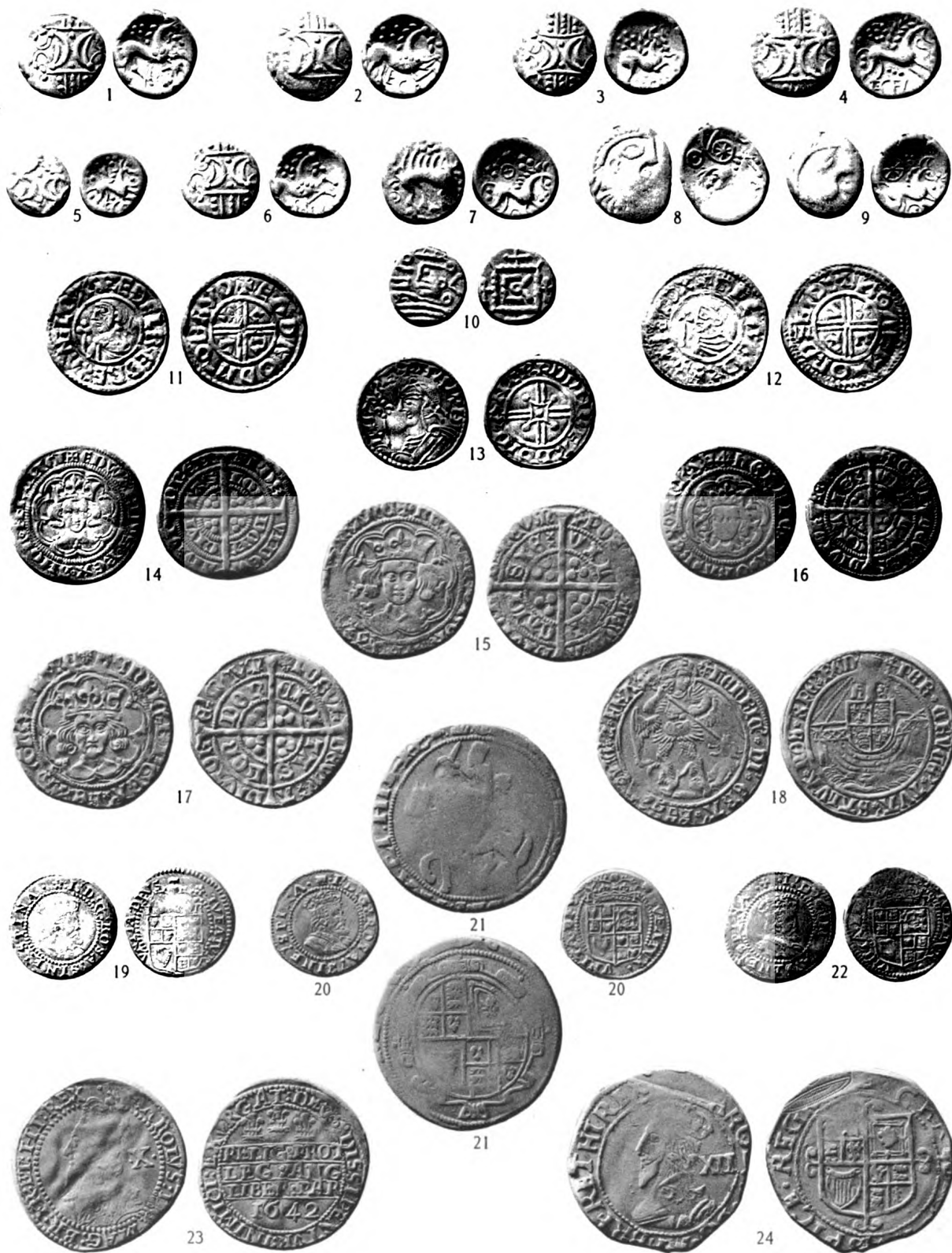
UNDER CHAPTER XVIII OF THE RULES.

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" ...	NEW YORK...	HENRY CLAY MILLER, ESQ.
" ...	PHILADELPHIA ...	CHARLES J. COHEN, ESQ.
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AUSTRALIA ...	MELBOURNE ...	ALFRED CHITTY, ESQ.
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Clerk to the Council.

MR. H. E. RETHAM.

43, BEDFORD SQUARE,
LONDON, W.C



MISCELLANEOUS EXHIBITS.

The British Numismatic Society.

PROCEEDINGS.

1906.

ORDINARY MEETING.

January 24th, 1906.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., D.L., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

MINUTES.

The minutes of the ORDINARY and ANNIVERSARY MEETINGS, held on the 30th of November, 1905, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

Ballot.

Ballots for His Excellency Monsieur Dimitry George Métaxas as an Honorary Member and for the candidates for membership

proposed at the meeting on the 30th of November, 1905, were respectively held, and the President declared that all had been elected.

Certificates of Candidates for Election.

The PRESIDENT read the certificates of nine candidates for membership and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

Ernest Christison Carter, Esq., M.D., M.R.C.P.

William Day, Esq.

Edward Gerrish, Esq., M.A.

The Rev. Cooper Kennett Henderson, M.A.

Andrew Lang, Esq., Litt.D.

Professor F. Liebermann, LL.D.

David Proskey, Esq.

Sir Owen Roberts, Kt., M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A., D.L.

Samuel Shephard Stanley, Esq.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. BERNARD ROTH, and resolved, that these certificates be suspended, and it was ordered that the candidates be balloted for at the next meeting.

Admissions.

The following Members were admitted in pursuance of Chapter II, Section 10, of the Rules, viz. :—

Robert à Ababrelton, Esq., F.R.G.S.

Frank Ellison, Esq.

William Robert Gregson, Esq.

Sir Alfred Scott Scott-Gatty, Kt., Garter Principal King of Arms, F.S.A.

The Hon. Frederick Strutt.

Presentations.

Sheriff Mackenzie.—*Anglo-Gallic Coins*, by Andrew Coltee Ducarel. The author's original copy containing his MS. notes.



IMPRESSIONS FROM THE GREAT AND PRIVY SEALS OF OWEN GLENDWR. XIV CENTURY.

Messrs. Spink and Son.—*The Numismatic Circular*, Volume XIII.

The American Numismatic and Archæological Society of New York City.—*Proceedings and Papers*, Forty-seventh Annual Meeting, 1905.

Major Freer.—*Paolo Pedrusi I. Cesari in oro Raccolti nel Farnese Museo*, 10 vols. Parma, 1694. Horace Walpole's copy, with the Strawberry Hill book-plate.

Mr. W. Sharp Ogden.—Facsimiles in metal of the seals of Owen Glendwr.

“The Great Seal has an obverse and reverse. On the obverse Owen is represented with a forked beard very similar to the representation of Richard II., seated under a canopy of Gothic tracery; the half body of a wolf forming the arms of his chair on either side; the background is ornamental with a mantle *semée* of lions, supported by angels. At his feet are two lions. He wears a coronet and a sceptre is in his right hand. The inscription is: ‘**OWENVS PRINCEPS WALLIA.**’ On the reverse of the Great Seal, Owen is represented in armour on horseback; in his right hand, which is extended, he holds a sword, and with his left his shield, charged with four lions rampant; a dragon, probably a ‘kerchief de pleasaunce’ pendant from his right wrist. Lions rampant also appear upon the trappings of the horse. On his helmet, as well as upon his horse’s head, is the Welsh dragon. The field of the seals is diapered with roses. The inscription on this side seems to fill the gap upon the obverse: ‘**OWENVS DEI GRATIA WALLIA.**’

“The privy seal represents the four lions, rampant towards the spectator’s left, on a shield surmounted by an open coronet, the dragon of Wales as a supporter on the dexter side; on the sinister is a lion. The

inscription seems to have been: '**SIGILLVM OWENI
PRINCIPIS WALLIE.**'

"Its workmanship shows Owen Glyndwr to have been possessed of a taste for art far beyond that disclosed by the seals of his predecessors." (Translated from the Welsh.)

The above are illustrated in the accompanying plate.

Exhibitions.

Mr. J. F. Walker.—The second known penny of Henry Bishop of Winchester, *temp.* Stephen. This piece is of the same type as the specimen figured in Hawkins, 279, but it is unfractured and not from the same dies. It will be described and illustrated in a future volume of this *Journal*.

Mr. C. J. Smilter.—A small find of English silver coins and jettons from the time of Edward III. to that of Charles I. recovered from the Goodwin Sands.

Mr. W. M. Maish.—Penny of Henry V. of the York mint; mullet to right and left of crown, broken annulet over each shoulder.

Penny of Edward IV. of the Durham mint, mint-mark cinquefoil; B to right of crown and V on breast.

Penny of Henry VII. of the York mint; T to right of neck, cross to left, issued by Archbishop Rotherham.

Groat of Henry VIII. showing a variation in the type of bust.

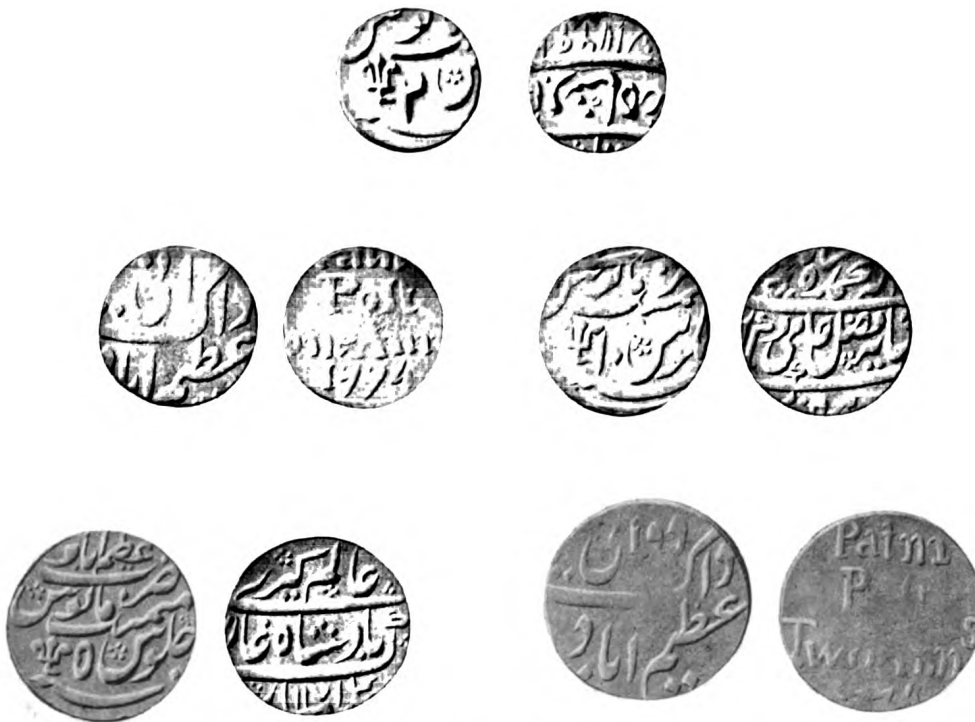
Penny of Henry VIII. of the Canterbury mint, bearing the initials T. A.

Shilling and sixpence of Charles I. of the Bristol mint.

Groat of Charles I. of the Bristol mint, similar to Ruding XXIV-9, but without the monogram below the date.

Mr. W. J. Webster.—An unusually fine specimen of the London groat of Henry VII.'s first coinage; mint-mark lys and rose conjoined on both sides; usual type of bust with the open crown, arch of tressure on breast not fleured, and without the cross on either side of the neck. Plate, No. 17.

Mr. J. B. Caldecott.—Coins of the Patna mint struck by the East India Company.



COINS OF THE PATNA MINT, ISSUED BY THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Major W. J. Freer.—Original steel seal of John Manners, Marquess of Granby, who commanded under Frederick the Great during the seven years' war in Germany, and then worn by him. The seal was given to an ancestor of the present owner, Mr. E. R. Norman.

Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher.—Two tokens of the Saltcoats Colliery.



TOKENS OF THE SALTCOATS COLLIERY.

Mr. H. W. Taffs.—An Early-British silver coin, Evans, Pl. F, Fig. 8, found in Suffolk.

Seventeenth-century token. Obverse: SAMVEL · PHILLIPS · OF=HIS · HALFE · PENNY. Reverse: STRATFORD · VPON · AVON = s^p_h , which corrects Williamson's erroneous allocation of the companion farthing to Stratford in Suffolk.

Papers.

MR. CARLYON-BRITTON, *President*.—"Coinage at St. Davids in the time of William I."

It will be remembered that the President had recently discovered a coin of Howell Dda, and established the theory of an early coinage in Wales. He then proved that a mint was in operation at Pembroke in the reign of Henry I. Having subsequently turned his attention to the period of the Conquest, he found that there were certain coins which also must be given to the Principality. It is well known that a mint was then worked at Rhuddlan, but as it was under the Earl of Chester it was not strictly a Welsh mint. The coins now treated, although of full weight and standard silver, were of much inferior workmanship to the English coins of the **PAXS** type, the last coinage of William I., with which they were obviously intended to pass current. They bore the mint-name **DEVITVN**, which Mr. Carlyon-Britton demonstrated was the contemporary form of *Dewiton*, the old

name of St. Davids. Also, the usual ecclesiastical symbols of the annulet and cross pommée appeared upon them, showing that they were issued by the Bishop of St. Davids. The writer exhibited a series of coins in illustration of his paper.

During the reading of the paper, which forms a section of "The Saxon, Norman and Plantagenet Coinage of Wales," by the same author, printed in Volume II of this *Journal*, Mr. Bernard Roth, as Vice-President, occupied the Chair.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, *Director*.—"A Remarkable Penny of Alfred the Great."

Mr. Lawrence exhibited the coin, the subject under discussion, the obverse of which bore the King's bust in profile to right within an inner circle, but upon the reverse the moneyer's name and title, ADELVLF MO, were in two lines across the field. It was a mule combining the London monogram and the cross pattée types, and disclosed clear indications of being a restruck coin of the former type. Unfortunately, it was not above suspicion; but whilst admitting this fact Mr. Lawrence was of opinion that it was genuine, and he called attention to the various points of detail in favour of this view.

A general discussion of the paper and the coin exhibited followed, in which there was a divided opinion as to the authenticity of the latter.

This paper appears in the present Volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

February 21st, 1906.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., D.L., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

MINUTES.

The minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING, held on the 24th of January, 1906, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

Certificates of Candidates for Election.

The PRESIDENT read the certificates of five candidates for membership and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

The Birmingham Free Libraries.
The Royal Societies Club.
N. Vreeland, Esq.
Maurice Lancelot Webb, Esq.
George Charles Yates, Esq., F.S.A.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. BERNARD ROTH, and resolved, that these certificates be suspended, and it was ordered that the candidates be balloted for at the next meeting.

Ballot.

The ballot for the candidates for membership proposed at the meeting on the 24th of January, 1906, was held, and the President declared that all had been elected.

Royal Communications.

The PRESIDENT read letters from His Excellency Monsr. de Bille and the Private Secretary to H.M. Queen Alexandra in reply to his correspondence on behalf of the Society as to the death of H.M. King Christian, one of the Society's Royal Members ; and copies of the same were ordered to be placed on the minutes, viz. :—

London,
30th January, 1906.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of to-day's date in which you so warmly express the sympathy of the British Numismatic Society with His Majesty King Frederick the VIIIth in his great bereavement.

I shall not fail to cause your spontaneous action on behalf of your Society to be brought to the notice of His Majesty, and I obey, by anticipation, His Majesty's commands in conveying to you his thanks for the kind words you have addressed to me. . . .

I remain, Sir, faithfully,

Your obedient servant,

F. BILLE.

P. Carlyon-Britton, Esq.,
President of the British Numismatic Society,
London.

Buckingham Palace,
2nd February, 1906.

Sir,

I have had the honour of submitting your letter of the 30th ultimo to the Queen, and I am now commanded to thank you very much for the same, and also to ask you to be good enough to convey to the Members of the British Numismatic Society Her Majesty's most sincere thanks for their kind sympathy in her irreparable loss.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

SIDNEY GREVILLE,

Private Secretary.

P. Carlyon-Britton, Esq.,
President of the British Numismatic Society.

Presentations.

J. B. Hurry, M.A., M.D.—“Reading Abbey,” by the donor.

Professor Alexis de Markoff.—A series of works by the donor.

Admissions.

The following Members were admitted in pursuance of Chapter II, Section 10, of the Rules, viz. :—

Ernest Christison Carter, Esq., M.D.

Lieut.-Colonel Ranulphus John Carthew.

Harcourt Yates Hare, Esq., M.A., LL.B.

Jamieson Boyd Hurry, Esq., M.A., M.D.

Robert Alexander Inglis, Esq., B.A.

John William Spurway, Esq.

Samuel Shephard Stanley, Esq.

Exhibitions.

Mr. Bernard Roth exhibited and read descriptive notes of three Early-British coins which are described with others in his paper printed in this volume.

Major W. J. Freer.—Crimean medals—

One bar, Sebastopol, H. Andrews, Grenadier Guards.

Two bars, Alma, Inkermann, 3652, Corpl. George Osborn, 79th Cameron Highlanders.

Two bars, Alma, Sebastopol, James Vickers, Commissariat.

Three bars, Balaklava, Inkermann, Sebastopol, Thomas Johnston, Royal Dragoons.

Group.—Four bars, Alma, Balaklava, Inkermann, Sebastopol, 4600, William Dunstone, 3rd Battn. Grenadier Guards; also long service and good conduct medal, and the Turkish Crimean medal.

Gold medal.—Tournament of the British Army, Presented to Captain H. Robertson, Riding Master, 1st Life Guards, 1882, by General E. S. Burnaby, 1st Life Guards, Hon. Colonel 1 V.B. Leicester Regiment. One of four medals struck.



ARMY GOLD MEDAL, TOURNAMENT, 1882.

Mr. J. B. Caldecott.—Silver proof of the St. Patrick's farthing with a halo round the head of St. Patrick.

Copper proof of the Lord Baltimore sixpence for Maryland. Of these two coins it is doubtful whether other specimens now exist.

The Director.—A silver coin-weight of Charles I. and brass coin-weights of James I. and Charles I., all by Briot.

Paper.

MR. H. ALEXANDER PARSONS.—“Art and English Coins.”

Mr. Parsons read a paper on this subject, in which he traced and compared the varied influences which had determined the designs and workmanship of our coinage from its origin to the present day. The writer dealt with a very complicated subject in a clear and logical manner, showing how the art of our money has been affected by every great constitutional upheaval of the dominant races of Europe. Finally, he regretted that our present currency was of little value from either the artistic or historical point of view, but believed that the conservation of its designs was due to the action of those responsible for their adoption, and to necessities of standardism, rather than to any lack of artistic talent in the country.

Mr. Parsons exhibited three trays of coins and casts of coins in illustration of his paper, which will be found in these pages, and a general discussion on the subject followed.

ORDINARY MEETING.

March 21st, 1906.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., D.L., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

MINUTES.

The minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING, held on the 21st of February, 1906, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

An expression of sympathy.

The PRESIDENT moved, and it was unanimously resolved, that the sympathy of the Society be expressed to Mr. Bernard Roth and his family in the sad loss of his son, Mr. L. B. Roth, in the recent accident at Rochdale.

Certificates of Candidates for Election.

The PRESIDENT read the certificates of five candidates for membership and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

The American Numismatic and Archæological Society.
The Society of Antiquaries of London.
The Cincinnati Public Library, Ohio, U.S.A.
Richard Heming, Esq.
Robert Wilson Martin, Esq., C.E.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. STROUD, and resolved that these certificates be suspended, and it was ordered that the candidates be balloted for at the next meeting.

Ballot.

The ballot for the candidates for membership proposed at the meeting on the 21st of February, 1906, was held, and the PRESIDENT declared that all had been elected.

Admissions.

The following Members were admitted in pursuance of Chapter II, Section 10, of the Rules, viz. :—

Sir Horatio David Davies, K.C.M.G.
William Day, Esq.
Professor F. Liebermann.
Harry Cecil Myers, Esq.
The Royal Societies Club.

Presentations.

Mr. H. M. Reynolds.—“Atkins’ Tokens of the Eighteenth Century.” “Pinkerton on Medals,” two volumes. “The Coin Collector,” by W. C. Hazlitt.

Exhibitions.

Mr. Philip Laver.—Half-noble of Henry IV.-V. Illustrated and described in Volume I. of this *Journal*, page 380, No. 10.

Mr. Samuel Page.—Shilling of Charles I. with rude portrait, mint-mark triangle, though of uncertain mint. On the field of the obverse near the King’s beard may be traced the letter E and perhaps also R, which appear to have been impressed on the original flan and may represent a plate mark or stamp. On the reverse of the coin, at the edge, there is a somewhat similar impression of what seems to be a portion of a crown, after the style of that on the Newark pieces. Plate, No. 24.

Half-crown of Charles I. recently found in Nottingham and much worn. Plate, No. 21. It is a duplicate of the piece which was attributed by the late Mr. Montagu to Coventry. The following is the description of the latter from the catalogue of his sale:—

Lot 591. Half-crown, mint-mark two Cs on both sides; Obverse: King on horseback, of rather rude work, reading MAG · BRI · FRA · ET · HIB; Reverse: CHRISTO, etc. Oval garnished shield, not crowned.

Mr. L. Fletcher.—Two Irish tokens of Stewartstown and Dromore, dated 1736.

Mr. F. W. Yeates.—Badge of the Needlemakers’ Company (Milton).

Paper.

MR. ALFRED ANSCOMBE.—“The Inscription on the Oxford Pennies of the OHSNÆFORDA type.”

These were the coins of King Alfred which had been the subject of some controversy, recent writers and members of the Oxford Historical Society having repudiated their connection with that city. Mr. Anscombe, however, brought entirely fresh evidence to bear upon the question, namely, that of the palæography and orthography of our early manuscripts. He divided his subject into five sections:—

1. A description of the coins showing that the dies were the work of several engravers, some of whom had adopted the form *Orsnaforda* and admitted other blunders.

2. The type of lettering. By comparison with “The Book of Kells,” the seventh-century psalter, the second Bible of Charles the Bald, the Gospel of St. Vaast and other manuscripts, he was able to trace the origin of the numerous varieties of each letter on the coins, and to prove that some of them had been then but recently introduced into southern England from the Continent.

3. The orthography of the mint name. In this relation he offered the instances of the A.-S. Chronicle, which was strictly contemporary with the coins, and various other authorities of the time, including King Alfred's own translation of Boethius's work, as conclusive that the diagraph H—S was used to express the sound now represented by X; thus the form *Ohsnaforda* was a true rendering, according to the fashion of the day, of the word *Oxnaforda*, i.e., Oxford. He explained that the error of OHSNÆFORDA probably arose from the fact that the dies would be copied from written instructions, for one of the forms of H then in vogue has not infrequently been mistaken in manuscripts for, and produced as R.

4. The grammar and meaning of the inscription. The word *Ohsnaforda* was a compound of *ohsna*, an Anglo-Saxon genitive plural meaning “of oxen,” with *forda*, the dative singular of the Anglo-Saxon word *ford*, which meant “at the ford”; the whole being for “at Oxford.”

5. The probable date of the issue of the coins. After explaining that this orthography was intentional and systematic, being probably due to the foreign influences brought to bear on Alfred by his mass-priest, John the Old Saxon, he expressed the opinion that the general conditions pointed to an approximate date of A.D. 886 as that of the issue of the Oxford money.

The paper is published in this volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

April 25th, 1906.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., D.L., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

MINUTES.

The minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING, held on the 21st of March, 1906, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

The Library.

The Hon. Librarian produced a proof of the proposed book-plate and the manuscript catalogue of the Library entered to date, both of which were approved.

Exhibition Trays.

Mr. W. J. Webster produced three trays specially designed for the Society for exhibiting fragile or delicate coins and curios.

Certificates of Candidates for Election.

The PRESIDENT read the certificates of five candidates for membership, and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

Ermitage Imperial, St. Petersburg.

Willoughby Gardner, Esq., F.R.G.S.

Charles Gregory, Esq.
 George D. Nichols, Esq.
 William Henry Wells, Esq.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. W. SHARP OGDEN, and resolved that these certificates be suspended, and it was ordered that the candidates be balloted for at the next meeting.

Ballot.

The Ballot for the candidates for membership proposed at the meeting on the 21st of March, 1906, was held, and the PRESIDENT declared that all had been elected.

Admissions.

The following Members were admitted in pursuance of Chapter II, Section 10, of the Rules, viz. :—

The American Numismatic and Archæological Society.
 The Society of Antiquaries of London.
 The Cincinnati Public Library.
 R. Heming, Esq.
 The Rev. C. K. Henderson, M.A.
 R. W. Martin, Esq.
 Mrs. P. W. Remnant.
 N. Vreeland, Esq.
 M. L. Webb, Esq., B.A.

Presentations.

The Deputy Master of the Mint.—“The Royal Mint Museum Catalogue.” “Coins and Tokens,” by W. J. Hocking, Vol. I.
 Messrs. Spink and Son, Ltd.—“Notes sur les Signatures de Graveurs sur Les Monnaies Grecques,” by L. Forrer.

Mr. E. E. Needes.—Forgery in gold of noble of David II. of Scotland.

Mr. A. H. Baldwin.—Set of coin scales and weights.

Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal.—Copper medal of the Chateau de Ramezay, Bicentenary, 1906.

Exhibitions.

Mr. E. E. Needes.—Group of war medals and decorations, all awarded to Trumpet-Major R. Kells, 9th Lancers, afterwards of the 19th Hussars and a Yeoman of the Guard. The group covers a period of fifty-five years, from the Punjab campaign of 1848 to the presentation of the Royal Victorian Order by the King in person, and includes the Victoria Cross granted for defending a wounded officer, Captain Drysdale, at Bolandstuchur, 28th September, 1857, Indian Mutiny.

The Director.—Early seventeenth-century scales, weights, and money, in original box made in Rotterdam.

Mr. Sharp Ogden.—A series of coin weights, principally by Briot.

Papers.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, R.A., *Librarian*.—"The Busts of James I. on his Silver Coinage."

Colonel Morrieson called attention to the fact that during the twenty-two years of this reign the portraiture on his money was changed no fewer than six times. Most of these changes occurred during the first ten years, and the author drew an inference of the King's personal interest in them. The first portrait appeared in 1603, and was anything but pleasing; but in the following March the King and Queen are recorded as having visited the Mint, and immediately, what was probably a very flattering representation of James, was issued to the public on his money.

The paper is printed in this volume.

Mr. J. B. Caldecott.—"Popular Numismatics."

The writer stated some able arguments in support of an endeavour to make this subject of more general interest, and particularly by means of lectures and lantern slides, to instil a knowledge of coins, as an aid to historical study, into the minds of those attending our Secondary Schools.

ORDINARY MEETING.

May 23rd, 1906.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., D.L., F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

MINUTES.

The Minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING, held on the 25th of April, 1906, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

A Resolution of Condolence.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. STROUD, and solemnly resolved :—

That a vote of heartfelt and true sympathy and condolence be accorded to the relatives of the late Mr. Richard Armstrong Hoblyn, F.S.A., whose much-regretted decease occurred on the 28th of April last. Mr. Hoblyn was one of the earliest to give this Society his support ; he was an Original Member of it, acting as Honorary Auditor for the year 1904, and in 1905 became a Member of the Council. To adopt the appropriate words of his old friend Mr. E. B. Harris, our deceased friend “was the model of a courteous English gentleman, and by his too early removal we have lost a sincere friend, this Society has lost a staunch supporter, and numismatology an ardent and able devotee.”

And it is ordered that this resolution and expression of loving appreciation and regret be entered upon the

Minutes and that a copy be sent by the Hon. Secretary to the Misses Hoblyn, the sisters of our deceased Member and friend.

Ballot.

The ballot for the candidates for membership proposed at the meeting on the 25th of April, 1906, was held, and the PRESIDENT declared that all had been elected.

Admissions.

The following Members were admitted in pursuance of Chapter II, Section 10, of the Rules, viz. :—

Ermitage Imperial, St. Petersburg.
Willoughby Gardner, Esq., F.R.G.S.
Charles Gregory, Esq.
George Charles Yates, Esq., F.S.A.

Presentations.

- L. Forrer.—“Benedetto Pistrucci,” Italian medallist and gem engraver, 1784–1855.
- E. Herbert Waters. — First editions of “Pinkerton on Medals” and Akerman’s “Numismatic Manual.”

Exhibitions.

The Director.—A half-groat of Edward III. of the earliest coinage, exhibiting the Roman **M** on the reverse. Plate, No. 14.

A groat of Henry VI. struck at Calais. Obverse of the pine-cone coinage with reverse of the annulet coinage. Plate, No. 15.

The corresponding half groat. Plate, No. 16.

Forgery of Eadwig with bust, recently presented to him by Lady Buckley.

Mr. H. M. Reynolds.—Penny of Harthacnut of the Langport Mint, *Hildebrand*, Type B. Plate, No. 13.

Paper.

Mr. Carlyon-Britton, *President*.—"Some Notes on the First Coinage of Henry II."

Except with regard to the Pipe Roll of Henry I., which had been treated by Mr. Andrew, no systematic search or notation of the early rolls of the Exchequer had previously been made for the purposes of comparison with the coinage of the period; but, Mr. Carlyon-Britton now supplied a complete record of the numismatic references contained in the rolls for the twenty-one years from 1155–1176. They comprised nearly four hundred entries, and included the names of eighty-two moneyers, with the various cities and boroughs in which they coined. These chiefly concerned returns of the fees, fines and penalties due to the Exchequer; but some of them were of a varied and more interesting character. The author was able to identify most of the names recorded with those on existing coins, many examples of which he exhibited, and in this relation it was interesting to note the introduction of the surname, which was then gradually extending over England. For example, **ALWIN** of London on the coins, became Alwin Finch in the Roll; **RICARD** of Exeter appeared as Richard Fitz Estrange, and **PIRES : MER** and **PIRES : SAL** of London were extended into Peter Merefin and Peter de Salerna, and so on; until the records seemed to be almost a directory of the coinage. The whole tenor of the paper confirmed the contention that the moneyer, whose name and place of mintage appeared on the coins, was a person of considerable wealth and importance, who farmed the dies, and employed artizans, usually termed in the roll "men of the moneyer," to do the manual and executive work. Mr. Carlyon-Britton acknowledged his indebtedness to the publications of the Pipe Roll Society which had materially lightened the task of research.

This paper was printed in Vol. II.

ORDINARY MEETING.

June 27th, 1906.

BERNARD ROTH, ESQ., F.R.C.S.,

Vice-President, in the Chair.

MINUTES.

The minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING held on the 23rd of May, 1906, were read, confirmed, and signed by the Vice-President.

An Expression of Sympathy.

It was moved by the VICE-PRESIDENT seconded by MAJOR FREER, and solemnly resolved :—

“That a vote of heartfelt and true sympathy be accorded to the President, Mr. Carlyon-Britton, in the bereavement he had sustained by the decease of his mother on the preceding evening.

Certificates of Candidates for Election.

The VICE-PRESIDENT read the certificates of two candidates for membership and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

Reginald Huth, Esq.

Arthur M. Lawrence, Esq.

It was proposed by the VICE-PRESIDENT, seconded by the DIRECTOR, and resolved, that these certificates be suspended, and it was ordered that the candidates be balloted for at the next meeting.

Admissions.

The following Members were admitted in pursuance of Chapter II, Section 10, of the Rules, viz. :—

The Birmingham Free Libraries.

William Henry Wells, Esq.

Exhibitions.

Major Freer, V.D., F.S.A.—Peninsular War medal with seven bars.

Gold Order, Knight of Hanover, and gold seal with coat of arms.

The *Historical Records* of the 43rd Regiment of the Monmouthshire Light Infantry by Sir R. Levinge, 1867, record that Sir John Paul Hopkins, K.H., was Ensign, 17th November, 1804; joined the 61st Regiment, 12th September, 1804; Lieutenant, 19th June, 1805; Captain, 29th August, 1811; Major, unattached, 5th November, 1825; appointed to 98th Regiment, 25th June, 1826; retired 18th October, 1831. Present with the Regiment in the Expedition to Copenhagen, 1807. Served in the Peninsular War for six years until the Regiment entered France, and was present with it at the Coa (wounded), Busaco, Sabugal (thanked on the field by Sir Sidney Beckwith for his gallant conduct), Fuentes d'Onoro, Redhina, Foz d'Aronce, Castel Nova, Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, Salamanca, Vittoria, attack on the heights of Vera, was an eye-witness to the assault on San Sebastian. He received the war medal and seven clasps for Busaco, Fuentes d'Onoro, Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, Salamanca, Vittoria and Pyrenees. Military Knight of Windsor, and selected by Queen Victoria for the Governorship of the Knights. Knighted for his military services, 11th December, 1867.

Sir W. Napier in a letter to Colonel Gurwood wrote, "Sir Sidney Beckwith often spoke to me about Hopkins, describing him as one of the finest soldiers he ever beheld, and that so far as a man commanding a company could decide a battle, Hopkins decided the Battle of Sabugal."

Medal with clasps for all the above actions, served for thirty years out of a life of forty-five. He died

August 2nd, 1836, and his memorials, erected by his brother officers at Corfu and in Oakham Church, describe him as "an officer whose military reputation stood deservedly high, and whose zeal for his profession was unbounded, high-minded, noble and devoted to his military duties, he was the friend of both officer and soldier, and his memory will long be held dear by those who knew him."

Three brothers, relatives of Major Freer, were in the 43rd at the same time, viz. :—

Daniel Gardiner Freer, Ensign, 19th February, 1824; Lieutenant, 8th April, 1826; Captain, 18th May, 1841; Major, 3rd West India Regiment, 12th November, 1847; exchanged 17th Leicester Regiment, May, 1848.

Edward Gardiner Freer, Ensign, 4th April, 1809; Lieutenant, 12th July, 1810; killed at the Nievelle, 10th November, 1813. See Napier's *Peninsular War*. (Tablet at Oakham Church.)

Colonel William Gardiner Freer, K.H., Ensign, 12th December, 1805; Lieutenant, 5th February, 1807; Captain, 1st December, 1813; Lieut.-Colonel, 24th May, 1833; present with the 43rd Vimiera (wounded), Corunna, the Coa (wounded), Busaco, Sabugal under Hopkins (slightly wounded), Fuentes d'Onoro, Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz (lost right arm), Vittoria, Vera, Bidassoa, Nievelle and Toulouse.

Miss Helen Farquhar.—Coins of Charles I. of the Oxford mint bearing R, under the bust, for Rawlins, described as follows :—

Shilling with R for Rawlins on the truncation of the shoulder, although described by Hawkins, p. 346, as type 8, is very rare. There are

two examples in the British Museum, one of which is in fine condition and evidently struck before the die was worn ; the other is like the specimen exhibited and from the same die. The initial R is more frequently met with upon the groats and threepences, but very rarely upon the shillings, and of the date 1644 only, of which date it is also found on the threepenny pieces, whereas the groats of 1645, and more rarely of 1646, which bear the R, are of a varied reverse type in having the Declaration in a compartment, instead of in straight lines as on the shilling and threepence.

Groat and threepence.—The former is of the date 1646 and bears the R, and the latter is for comparison with another curious threepenny piece. This last coin has exactly the same obverse, even to the prostrate R beneath the bust as the threepence of 1644, but it is combined with an Aberystwith reverse. Unless we suppose Rawlins to have been connected with the Aberystwith mint, we must conclude that, owing to the removal of the dies from Wales to Shrewsbury in September, 1642, immediately after the declaration of Wellington made on the 19th September, 1642, and on to Oxford in the following January, this little coin was accidentally struck in 1644 from the old Aberystwith reverse die, although the declaration type was in exclusive use, with that of the usual obverse of an Oxford threepence. The obverse mint-mark is the lys, that of the reverse the open book. The coin is unpublished.

Mr. A. H. Baldwin.—Electrotype of an unpublished countermarked Spanish dollar issued by John Morris, Paisley.



COUNTERMARKED SPANISH DOLLAR ISSUED BY JOHN MORRIS, PAISLEY.

Mr. S. H. Hamer.—

A genuine specimen of the Upcott private token.

A restrike from the dies after some little alteration.

An impression from the defaced dies after the restrikes had been taken, recently sold by auction as a "Trial piece."



THE UPCOTT PRIVATE TOKEN.

Paper.

Mr. Bernard Roth, *Vice-President*.—"A Find of Ancient British Coins at South Ferriby, near Barton-on-Humber, Lincolnshire."

The coins comprised seven gold and eighteen silver pieces of the Brigantes, and were collected from time to time as the Humber washed away the banks of what, from the numerous other relics disclosed, seems to have been an ancient cemetery. Although the gold coins added a second specimen of the supposed unique piece Evans K 11, it was in the silver that the real interest lay. When Sir John Evans published his standard work on *The Coinage of the Ancient Britons*, no silver currency was known of the Brigantes, but a few years ago five specimens were discovered at Honley, near Huddersfield, which had been buried in an ox-bone. The eighteen examples described in detail by Mr. Roth, therefore, formed a new chapter in our knowledge of the currency north of the Trent in the first century. In illustration of the subject, a series of the coinage of the Brigantes was exhibited from the collections of Sir John Evans, Mr. Carlyon-Britton, Mr. T. Sheppard and the author.

During the reading of the paper, which is printed in this volume, the Chair was occupied by the Director.

ORDINARY MEETING.

July 25th, 1906.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., D.L., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

MINUTES.

The minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING, held on the 27th of June, 1906, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

Royal Communications.

The PRESIDENT read the following letters written on behalf of H.M. the King of Norway and H.M. the Queen of Denmark, accepting the invitation of the Council to become Royal Members,

which were received with applause, and copies of the letters were ordered to be entered on the minutes, viz. :—

Palace, Trondhjem,
2nd July, 1906.

Sir,

In answer to your letter dated 31st May, I am commanded by the King of Norway to inform you that he has great pleasure in consenting to be nominated a "Royal Member" of the British Numismatic Society, and that His Majesty thoroughly appreciates the honour conferred by your proposal.

It is much regretted that so long a period should have elapsed ere a reply has been sent to you, due solely to the heavy pressure of business connected with the Coronation at Trondhjem.

I remain, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

HENRY KNOLLYS, *Colonel*,
Comptroller to Her Majesty the Queen of Norway.

To P. Carlyon-Britton, Esq., F.S.A.,
President,
British Numismatic Society,
43, Bedford Square, London.

Legation of Denmark,
19th July, 1906.

Sir,

Referring to my letter of June 8th, I am requested to inform you that Her Majesty, the Queen of Denmark, has been graciously pleased to accept nomination as a Royal Member of the British Numismatic Society.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

F. DE BILLE.

P. Carlyon-Britton, Esq.,
President of the British Numismatic Society.

Certificates of Candidates for Election.

The PRESIDENT read the certificates of four candidates for membership, and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

The Right Hon. Sir Robert Bannatyne Finlay, P.C.,
G.C.M.G., K.C.

Major Raymond Frederic Boileau.

Miss C. Gaudet.

Arthur Dennis Passmore, Esq.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. UPTON, and resolved, that these certificates be suspended, and it was ordered that the candidates be balloted for at the next meeting.

Ballot.

The ballot for the candidates for membership proposed at the meeting on the 27th June, 1906, and also for the Right Hon. Sir Robert Bannatyne Finlay, G.C.M.G., was held, and the PRESIDENT declared that all had been elected.

Officers of the Council.

The PRESIDENT informed the Members that the ballot for the Officers of the Council for the next session would be held on the 30th of November next between the hours of 8.45 p.m. and 9.15 p.m.

Admission.

The following Member was admitted in pursuance of Chapter II, Section 10, of the Rules, viz. :—

Reginald Huth, Esq.

The Society's Book-plate.

The Librarian presented a proof of the Society's book-plate framed for the Society's rooms.

Paper.

Mr. Nathan Heywood.—“The Kingdom and Coins of Burgred, King of Mercia, 852–874.”

Mr. Heywood contributed a monograph on "The Kingdom and Coins of Burgred, King of Mercia, 852-874." In this, after contrasting the very meagre records of Mercian history of that involved period, with the plentiful series of coins which had been preserved to us, he described the latter in detail. Burgred's money disclosed the names of sixty or seventy moneyers, and was of remarkably uniform design and weight, though usually of debased silver. The principal finds of these coins had been in Cornwall in 1744, at Gravesend in 1838, near Croydon in 1862, and during the repairs to Waterloo Bridge in 1882. The last find was specially interesting, as several hundred coins were discovered in the bed of the Thames, close to the foundations of the second pier on the Surrey side. Amongst these, were a few pennies of Æthelred and Alfred, which were similar in type to those of Burgred, and probably also intended for currency in Mercia. In illustration of the paper the President exhibited nearly a hundred of the coins described, including ten specimens of Æthelred and Alfred.

The paper will be found in this volume.

To facilitate the settlement of a recently debated question, the PRESIDENT submitted for examination enlarged photographs of three pennies of Henry I. of the London mint, Hawkins type 262, bearing on the reverse the alleged mark of an escallop, and all from the same die. A discussion followed, in which the opinion prevailed that the resemblance to an escallop was merely the accident of a die-flaw.¹

ORDINARY MEETING.

October 17th, 1906.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., D.L., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

MINUTES.

The minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING, held on the 25th of July, 1906, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

¹ See vol. i, pp. 373-374.

Royal Communications.

The PRESIDENT read the following letter written on behalf of H.M. The Queen of Spain accepting the invitation of the Council to become a Royal Member, which was received with applause, and a copy thereof was ordered to be entered on the minutes, viz. :—

Embajada de España,
en Londres,
July 28th, 1906.

Dear Sir,

I am commanded by His Majesty the King, My August Sovereign, to thank the British Numismatic Society for their kind address upon the occasion of his marriage, and at the same time to inform you that Her Majesty the Queen will be pleased to honour the Society by accepting its Honorary Membership.

Believe me,

Truly yours,

L. POLO DE BERNABE.

P. Carlyon-Britton, Esq.

Certificates of Candidates for Election.

The PRESIDENT read the certificates of eight candidates for membership, and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

His Excellency Sir George Chardin Denton, K.C.M.G.

Archer Milton Huntington, Esq.

John Bedell Stanford MacIlwaine, Esq.

Andrew Murdoch, Esq., M.B.

The Rev. Henry Aldwin Soames, M.A.

Robert Sutcliffe, Esq.

Lionel Vibert, Esq.

The Corporation of the City of Winchester.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. BEARMAN, and resolved that these certificates be suspended, and it was ordered that the candidates be balloted for at the next meeting.

Ballot.

The ballot for the candidates for membership proposed at the meeting on the 27th of July, 1906, was held, and the PRESIDENT declared that all had been elected.

Admissions.

The following members were admitted in pursuance of Chapter II, Section 10, of the Rules, viz. :—

The Right Hon. Sir Robert Bannatyne Finlay, P.C.
Andrew Lang, Esq., Litt.D.
Sir Owen Roberts, Kt., D.C.L., F.S.A., D.L.

Presentations.

The President.—

Colonial Coins and Tokens, by D. F. Howorth.
Akerman's Numismatic Manual.
Akerman's Roman Coins, Vols. I. and II.

Major Creeke.—

Catalogue of coins and medals formed by James Dodsley Cuff.
Catalogue of coins and medals formed by John Brodribb Bergne.

Mr. W. J. Webster.—Framed copy of the *English Numismatic Chart from the Conquest to the present time*.

Exhibitions.

The President.—

Harold I. penny, Hildebrand Type B, variety C.
Obverse : + HAD/D REX. Reverse : + PVLPIIE OII GDA.
From Montagu sale, lot 95. It is there read PVLPIE ON COL and attributed to Colchester, but the mint-name is probably intended for GRA (Cam-

bridge) as D is also used for R in the King's name and Wulfwine was a moneyer of Cambridge. There are only two coins of this variety of type in Hildebrand, and both are of Lincoln.

The series of coins exhibited by him in illustration of *Cornish Numismatics* is described and illustrated in the text of that paper; see *ante*, p. 109, *et seq.*

Mr. W. C. Wells.—

Cunobelin, copper coin and a specimen of British ring-money, found at Wood Burcote, Northamptonshire.

Nine coins of the Iceni selected from a hoard of about 300 or 350 found near Wimblington, Cambridgeshire, including several unrecorded varieties. Plate, Nos. 1-9.

Anglo-Saxon sceatta, head to left with *runes*, found near Icklingham, Suffolk. Plate, No. 10.

Æthelred II. Silver pennies of Hawkins type 204, reading + IOAE MO RDEGIDG, Reading, and + EADNOD MO BRYD, Bridgnorth? Plate, Nos. 12 and 11.

Mr. A. H. Baldwin.—

Henry VII. Morton's half-groat, Canterbury, mint-mark ton, of unusual form.

Norway. The first copper coin of King Haakon VII.

War-Medal. The recently issued medal for operations in Tibet, 1903-4, with clasp "GYANTSE," for the 1st Royal Fusiliers.

Berkshire. The forty-shilling gold token issued by J. B. Monck in 1812; a remarkably fine piece.

Transvaal pond of 1898 countermarked "99" below the bust, by the British at Pretoria to stamp it as current equally with the British sovereign. It is said that only 116 were so countermarked.

Auditors.

The PRESIDENT reminded the meeting that under Chapter XIX. of the Rules, Auditors had now to be appointed, and suggested that Mr. St. Barbe Goldsmith and Mr. Arthur C. Chifferiel be chosen. This suggestion met with the approval of the meeting, and the appointment was duly made.

Notices.

The PRESIDENT gave notice that the Anniversary Meeting would be held on the 30th of November, 1906, at 8.30 p.m., and that the Ballot for the election of the Officers and Council of the Society, for the Session 1906-7, would be open from 8.45 p.m. to 9.15 p.m. He read the names of those recommended by the Council for election.

The PRESIDENT also informed the Meeting that the proposed alteration to Chapter VII, Section 5, of the Rules which had been under consideration, had been postponed pending a proposal to include some minor details in one circular and meeting to consider the same, also that Mr. Alfred Anscombe had, at the suggestion of Mr. Andrew, been appointed by the Council as an additional Secretary.

Papers.

Mr. SHARP OGDEN.—“A Find of Roman bronze coins on the Little Orme's Head, North Wales.”

The coins comprised 2 Æ and 3 Æ from Constantius Chlorus to Constantinus Maximus, and the majority were in remarkably good preservation. At least one-fifth of the find had been issued from the London mint and presented many interesting variations. Referring to the mysterious letters on the field on the reverse of these types, Mr. Ogden proffered the theory that they were contractions of well known dedicatory inscriptions such as T. F. for “*Tempora felicitas*,” etc., certainly a simpler and more probable explanation than the laboured dissertations previously offered. He exhibited a fine series of the coins described.

The coins exhibited by Mr. Ogden are fully described in the printed report of this paper ; see *ante*, p. 17 *et seq.*

The President.—“Cornish Numismatics.”

The Author quoted records from the early Pipe Rolls of Henry II. to prove that a mint then existed at Launceston, and assigned to it a large series of coins which official numismatists have usually allocated to Lancaster, Stepney, and other improbable places. The old names of Launceston were Lanstefantun, variously spelt, and “the town of St. Stephen,” and the coins issued from it comprised the reigns of Æthelred II., William I. and II., Henry I., Stephen and Henry II. At first they bore the name contracted to LANSTF, but later STEFANI was used, and finally LANST. The writer exhibited a selection of the coins, and traced the gradual changes of one form of the name into another.

Both the above papers are printed in this volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

November 30th, 1906.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., D.L., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

MINUTES.

The minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING, held on the 17th of October, 1906, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

Certificates of Candidates for Election.

The PRESIDENT read the certificates of three candidates for membership and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

Edgar Lincoln, Esq.

H. D. McEwen, Esq.

Henry Francis Tasker, Esq.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. BERNARD ROTH, and resolved that these certificates be suspended, and it was ordered that the candidates be balloted for at the next meeting.

Ballot for Members.

The Ballot for the candidates for membership proposed at the meeting on the 17th of October, 1906, was held, and the President declared that all had been elected.

Admissions.

The following members were admitted in pursuance of Chapter II, Section 10, of the Rules, viz. :—

His Excellency Sir George C. Denton, K.C.M.G.

Miss C. Gaudet.

J. B. S. MacIlwaine, Esq.

The Rev. H. A. Soames.

L. Vibert, Esq.

Presentation.

The President.—

Coin Catalogues, Murdoch, “ Scottish and Anglo-Gallic, 1903.” “Coins and Medals, 1904.” “ English Coins. British and Colonial.”

“ Collection H. M. Monnaies Royales et Seigneuriales Francaises, 1902.” “ Monnaies Royales et Seigneuriales de France, 1891.”

Exhibitions.

The Director.—

Henry IV.—I. Groat. Obverse : **HENRIC DI GRA
REX ANGL & FRANCA.** King's bust with side locks,

mullet on bust; mint-mark, cross possibly slightly pattée. Stops in legend where visible, crosses. Reverse: **POSVI DEVM ADIVTOREM, CIVITAS LONDON.** Roman Ns in London. Mint-mark, cross pattée.

2. Groat. Obverse: **HENRIC DI GRA REX ANGLIE & FRANC.** Remarkable bust, well spread with bushy hair, mint-mark cross pattée with sunken annulet; legend in very stunted letters. Quatrefoil after **HENRIC**, crosses as stops. Reverse: **POSVI DEVM ADIVTORE MEVM, CIVITAS LONDON;** mint-mark as on obverse.
3. Halfpenny. Obverse: **HENRIC REX**, etc., mint-mark cross with sunken annulet; a broken annulet each side of head, crosses as stops. Reverse: **CIVITAS LONDON.** From the Highbury find.

Mr. S. H. Hamer.—

The two steel punches and the bed or anvil, on which each token was placed to be countermarked,



DIES FOR COUNTERMARKING THE BRADFORD WORKHOUSE TOKENS.

BRADFORD WORKHOUSE. By the appearance of the head of each punch, a numerous quantity of tokens must have been countermarked ; the narrow opening shown in front of the bed is to allow of something being inserted to lift out the token when "marked." These were lent for exhibition by the Overseers of the Poor at Bradford.

A silver and a copper medal, or token, of the Birmingham Caledonian Society, 1789.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

November 30th, 1906.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., D.L., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

Mr. ANSCOMBE read the Report of the Council for the third year since the Inauguration of the Society, viz. :—

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

To the Members of the British Numismatic Society.

The Council have the honour to lay before the members their third Annual Report.

On the 30th of November, 1905, the Society consisted of 16 Royal, 19 Honorary, and 500 Members.—Total 535.

With deep regret the Council record the decease of His Majesty Christian IX., King of Denmark, a Royal Member of the Society, and of the five following members :—

George Henry Blois Elliott, Esq.

Richard A. Hoblyn, Esq., F.S.A.

Edward Jackman, Esq.

George Unwin, Esq., F.R.Hist.S.

Septimus H. Ward, Esq.

The Council regret to announce the resignation of the following twenty-eight Members :—

William Sumner Appleton, Esq.
 Thomas Balls, Esq.
 Col. A. J. Bolton, V.D.
 J. Ellman Brown, Esq.
 The Corporation of Burnley.
 Lt.-Col. Tredenham F. Carlyon.
 Charles I. Cohen, Esq.
 August C. R. de Wette, Esq., D.L.
 Frederick David Elkin, Esq.
 William Harris, Esq.
 Charles Percival Henty, Esq., M.A.
 Jesse Herbert, Esq.
 Miss C. M. Howard.
 John Ibetson Huttly, Esq.
 W. Harold Klosz, Esq.
 Thomas George Litchfield, Esq.
 Lt.-Col. Thomas Samuel Lloyd-Barrow, R.A.M.C.
 Arthur Maxwell, Esq.
 Henry J. Pfungst, Esq., F.S.A.
 John Edwin Piper, Esq.
 Shirley Herbert Potter, Esq.
 The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Powis.
 E. R. Serocold-Skeels, Esq.
 Miss Ethel Stokes.
 George Stoner, Esq.
 Thomas George Taylor, Esq.
 Mrs. Percy Topping.
 Harold Tansley Witt, Esq.

And thirteen others will at the Anniversary Meeting be amoved under the provisions of Chapter IV, Section III, of the Rules.

On the other hand the Council have the pleasure to record the high honour conferred upon the Society by the gracious consent of the following three Royal Personages to become Royal Members.

His Majesty Haakon VII., King of Norway.

Her Majesty The Queen of Denmark.

Her Majesty The Queen of Spain.

The election of His Excellency Monsieur Demitry George Métaxas, G.C.V.O., Env. Ex. and Min. Plen. of H.M. the King of the Hellenes will be gratifying to the Society.

The following forty-six Members have also been elected during the year :—

The American Numismatic and Archæological Society.

The Society of Antiquaries of London.

The Birmingham Free Libraries.

Major Raymond Frederic Boileau.

Ernest Christison Carter, Esq., M.D., M.R.C.P.

Lt.-Col. Ranulphus John Carthew.

The Cincinnati Public Library, Ohio, U.S.A.

William Day, Esq.

His Excellency Sir George Chardin Denton, K.C.M.G.

The Rt. Hon. Sir R. B. Finlay, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C.

Willoughby Gardner, Esq., F.L.S.

Miss Claire Gaudet.

Edward Gerrish, Esq., M.A.

Charles Gregory, Esq.

Harcourt Yates Hare, Esq., M.A., LL.B.

Richard Heming, Esq.

The Rev. Cooper Kennett Henderson, M.A.

Archer Milton Huntington, Esq.

Jamieson Boyd Hurry, Esq., M.A., M.D.

Alexander Constantine Hutchins, Esq.

Reginald Huth, Esq.

Robert Alexander Inglis, Esq., B.A.

Andrew Lang, Esq., Litt.D.

Arthur M. Lawrence, Esq.

Professor F. Liebermann, LL.D.

John Bedell Stanford MacIlwaine, Esq.

Robert Wilson Martin, Esq.

Andrew Murdoch, Esq., M.B., C.M.
 Harry Cecil Myers, Esq.
 George D. Nichols, Esq.
 Arthur Dennis Passmore, Esq.
 David Proskey, Esq.
 Sir Owen Roberts, Kt., M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A., D.L.
 The Royal Societies Club.
 Ermitage Imperial, St. Petersburg.
 The Rev. Henry Aldwin Soames, M.A.
 John William Spurway, Esq.
 Samuel Shepherd Stanley, Esq.
 The Hon. Frederick Strutt.
 Robert Sutcliffe, Esq.
 Lionel Vibert, Esq.
 N. Vreeland, Esq.
 Maurice Lancelot Webb, Esq., B.A.
 William Henry Wells, Esq.
 The Corporation of the City of Winchester.
 George Charles Yates, Esq., F.S.A.

SUMMARY.

	<i>Royal.</i>	<i>Honorary.</i>	<i>Ordinary.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
30th November, 1905 ...	16	19	500	535
Since elected ...	3	1	46	50
	19	20	546	585
Deceased ...	1	—	5	6
Resigned ...	—	—	28	28
Amoved ...	—	—	13	13
30th November, 1906 ...	18	20	500	538

The above figures once more demonstrate the continued popularity and prosperity of the Society, and now, at the close of its third year, point a moral to the prophecies of those prejudiced numismatologists, who at its inauguration did not hesitate to aver in the Public Press that there was no room for its existence.

The year has been clouded by the loss to the Society of one of its Royal Members in the personage of Christian IX., King of Denmark, the venerated Father of our Gracious Queen Alexandra. That this benign Sovereign was one of its earliest Royal Members will ever remain in the memories of the Society.

His Majesty is succeeded by King Frederick VIII., who became a Royal Member of the Society at the same time as his illustrious father.

In the death of Mr. Richard A. Hoblyn, F.S.A., the Council have lost one of their own body, and the Society one of its most popular and valuable members. Mr. Hoblyn had been a constant contributor to numismatics for thirty years, and during that period has written upon many subjects, but perhaps he will be best remembered as a specialist of the coinage of Ireland, as to which his knowledge was second to none. He was an ardent supporter of the movement which inaugurated this Society, and his unselfish assistance to all students of, and writers on, numismatics, coupled with his kindly disposition, will never be forgotten by those who were associated with him.

The late Mr. G. H. B. Elliott joined the Society on the 12th October, 1904. He was the son of the late Captain George Henry Elliott of Farnborough Park, Hants, and the last representative of his family. For many years a member of the Junior United Service Club, he was ever ready to encourage research in art and archæology.

The late Mr. George Unwin, F.R.Hist.S., was well known in London numismatic and geological circles, being a member also of the London and Middlesex, and Surrey Archæological Societies. He formed a large collection of coins and relics of antiquity found in the City, especially in Bucklersbury, and as a member of the Gresham Steam Press was one of the pioneers of the revival of the "Old face" type and ornaments.

The late Mr. S. H. Ward, who joined the Society on the 25th of March, 1904, was born at Pickering but spent his business-life in Sheffield, where he took a prominent part in politics and was a magistrate and a member of the School Board, yet he found the time to take a keen interest in the objects of this Society.

The late Mr. Edward Jackman joined the Society on the 30th November, 1904. He was a skilful heraldic artist and illuminator, and was attracted by the heraldic and artistic elements of numismatics. The Addresses presented by this Society to H.M. the King of Portugal and H.M. The King of Spain were good examples of Mr. Jackman's work.

The Society once more tenders its thanks to Messrs. Upton and Britton for their generosity in continuing to place the suite of rooms at 43, Bedford Square, at its service.

The Council again record their acknowledgment of the services of the Editors of the *Journal*, Mr. Andrew, Mr. Carlyon-Britton, and Mr. Lawrence, and trust that Vol. II will meet with the same appreciation which was so generously extended to Vol. I. A feature of the new volume is the increased number of illustrations. Although these are necessarily costly luxuries, they are the best records of coins which, though with us to-day, may be lost or destroyed to-morrow.

The Council congratulate the Treasurer, Mr. Wood, upon his Report and upon the care and attention which have so much conduced to the stability and soundness of the Society's financial position.

At the request of Mr. Andrew, who has hitherto borne the double duties of Secretary and routine Editor, Mr. Alfred Anscombe has been appointed an additional Secretary under Chapter XVI, Section IX, of the Rules. This appointment will be gratifying to all those who know Mr. Anscombe.

In thanking those who have exhibited coins, medals and curios at the Meetings during the year, the Council take the opportunity of assuring Members that the question whether a piece is "worth exhibition" is best settled by its production.

The papers read to the Society have fully maintained its reputation, and the widespread interest which it has aroused in British

Numismatics is reflected in the now long list of "promised communications." Every paper read seems to open fresh ground for others, until the mind of the Council is set at rest, that neither quality nor quantity will be lacking. The best review of these papers will be that of the individual reader, and to the Members, therefore the Council leave the judgment, with the familiar numismatic quotation *Redde cuique quod suum est.*

The Report was received with applause by the Members present. It was moved by MR. FOX, seconded by MISS FARQUHAR and resolved that the same be adopted.

Ballot for Election of Officers and Council for the Session 1907.

The PRESIDENT declared the ballot open from 8.45 p.m. to 9.15 p.m., and with the approval of the meeting, nominated Mr. Fitch and Mr. Inglis as Scrutators. The votes having been examined by them, the Scrutators reported to the Chairman who announced that the large number of members who had voted were unanimous in the election of the Officers and Members of the Council as suggested in the balloting list. The voting papers were ordered to be destroyed.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

SESSION 1907.

President.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A., D.L., J.P.

Vice-Presidents.

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF AILESBUURY.

G. R. ASKWITH, ESQ., M.A.

SIR FREDERICK D. DIXON-HARTLAND, BART., M.P., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL EGERTON OF TATTON, M.A.

THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD GRANTLEY, F.S.A., D.L., J.P.

BERNARD ROTH, ESQ., F.R.C.S., J.P.

Director.

L. A. LAWRENCE, ESQ., F.R.C.S.

Hon. Treasurer.

RUSSELL H. WOOD, ESQ., A.C.A.

Hon. Librarian.

LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, R.G.A.

Hon. Editorial Secretary.

W. J. ANDREW, ESQ., F.S.A.

Hon. Corresponding Secretary.

A. ANSCOMBE, ESQ.

Council.

A. H. BALDWIN, ESQ.

S. BOUSFIELD, ESQ., M.A., M.B.

J. B. CALDECOTT, ESQ.

THE REV. J. CHARLES COX, LL.D., F.S.A.

LIONEL L. FLETCHER, ESQ.

W. H. FOX, ESQ., F.S.A.

MAJOR WILLIAM J. FREER, V.D., F.S.A.

PHILIP NELSON, ESQ., M.D., CH.B.

W. SHARP OGDEN, ESQ.

H. M. REYNOLDS, ESQ.

SIR ALFRED SCOTT-GATTY, KT., F.S.A., Garter Principal King of Arms.

F. STROUD, ESQ., Recorder of Tewkesbury.

EDWARD UPTON, ESQ., F.Z.S.

W. J. WEBSTER, ESQ.

Treasurer's Report.

The Treasurer read the Balance Sheet for the past financial year, distributing copies of the same to members present, and also read the Auditors' Certificate at the foot of the same, certifying that the accounts had been audited and found correct.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by COL. MORRIESON, and resolved that the Treasurer's accounts be adopted.

CHAPTER IV, SECTION III.

The PRESIDENT read the names of thirteen members who had failed to pay their subscriptions for 1905, and made an entry of their removal against their names in the Register of the Society, in accordance with Chapter IV, Section III, of the Rules.

A SCOTTISH EVENING.

Exhibitions.

For this meeting exhibitions of Scottish coins, medals, tokens, historical miniatures and curios had been specially invited.

The President.—A series of early Scottish silver pennies, including one of King Malcolm III.

Mr. Bernard Roth.—

Twenty-pound piece of James VI., dated 1576.

Forty-shilling piece of James VI., dated 1582, both from the Murdoch collection.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence.—Three Scottish coin weights.

Mr. W. J. Andrew.—

Gold pendant bearing enamelled portrait of the Duke of Cumberland (of Culloden) presented by himself, also two small gold miniatures (portraits now unknown but of rather later date), handed down with it by the family to whom it was given.

Punch ladle. The bowl made from a five-shilling piece and half guinea of George II., dated 1745, and inscribed, "The gift of Capten Evelyn Chadwick of Stroxtan, of Kington's Light Hors to Wm. Johnston, 1746." Presented to William, afterwards Sir William Johnston, immediately after the Battle of Culloden, at which Captain Chadwick commanded a company.

Scottish mull bearing the crest of Elmslie.

Carved ivory sixteenth-century powder primer converted into an eighteenth century snuff box

representing, in any position, a stag's head. Probably of Italian origin but handed down in the family of the late Marquess of Bute and given by him. Miniature on ivory, gold mounted, badge of the Loyal Caledonian Lodge of Oddfellows.

Miniature portrait, about 1760, of Prince Charles Edward wearing the star; the Prince of Wales's feathers in the background.

Series of thirty medals of the Risings of 1715 and 1745, and the Stuart cause. Including the "Escape from Innsprück" Æ, and the "Micat inter Omnes" with plain edge, not recorded in *Medallic Illustrations*, and a Carlisle medal which has evidently been worn as a military decoration.

Mr. W. Day.—Snuff box presented by Prince Charles to the Marquis de Serran. The painted disc is so fitted within the top of the box that the latter could be used without compromising the owner.

Mr. Bearman.—

Scottish gold pieces.

James III.	Rider, <i>Burns</i>	...	No. 1.	Fig. 599.
"	"	"	3.	" 601.
	Half-Rider, <i>Burns</i> ...	"	1.	" 620.
	Unicorn	"	variety of	" 627.
	"	"	"	" 627.
	"	" ...	No. 7.	" 629.
	"	"	variety of same.	
	"	" ...	No. 9.	Fig. 631.
	"	"	variety of same.	
	"	" ...	No. 11.	Fig. 632.
	Half-Unicorn	" ...	" 1.	" 633.
	"	"	" 2.	" "
	"	"	" 3.	" "
	"	"	" 4.	" 634.
	"	"	" 5.	" 635.

James IV.	Unicorn, <i>Burns</i>	...	No.	2.	Fig.	659.
	Half-Unicorn, <i>Burns</i>		„	1.	„	660.
	„	„	„	3.	„	661.
	Unicorn	„	„	4.	„	679.
	„	„	„	7.	„	687.
	„	„	„	8A.	„	688.
	„	„	„	8B.	„	688A.
	„	„	„	11.	„	699.

Mr. L. Fletcher.—

An unpublished colliery token reading “Govan Coal 1766.”

Farthing tokens of East Linton, Hugh Brown, Edinburgh. J. Reynolds and Thomson's Warehouse, Glasgow. Ralph Ersilion & Company, Irmer Keithing, and John Meitelejón.

Mr. Hamer.—Scottish copper tokens : a series.

Mr. Needes.—

A case of Waterloo medals representing the different Scottish Regiments engaged in that battle.

An old snuff box with a portrait of Prince Charles.

A chased silver oval badge; obverse: figure of St. Andrew; reverse: decorated with thistles, and on a scroll, “LOUDOUN AND MOIRA.”

Mr. H. W. Taffs.—

Loch Leven penny token, 1797.

Half a Spanish dollar countermarked, PAYABLE · AT · ROTHSAÿ · MILLS 2/6, to circulate as a half-crown.

Mr. G. M. Fraser.—

The painting, by W. Smith, junr., of the bronze pot which contained the Edwardian Coins found at Aberdeen, mounted with specimens from the hoard.
See p. 335.

Mr. W. Machado Maish.—

The three varieties of the gold half-crown of James I., illustrated, Plate, Nos. 19, 20 and 22.

Mr. W. J. Webster on behalf of Mr. S. M. Spink.—A large selection of Scottish and Jacobite coins containing many rare and interesting pieces, some of which, it is hoped, may be the subject of separate communications to the future pages of the *Journal*.

Mr. W. Sharp Ogden.—A Jacobite Prayer Book temp. 1715, in which the name “King James” had been carefully substituted for that of King George.

Miss H. Farquhar.—

James II. Pattern sixty-shilling piece.

James VIII. Crown or sixty-shilling piece, *Burns*, 1094.

James VIII. Pattern guinea, *Burns*, 1095.

James III. Pattern guinea (?) *Burns*, 1096.

Medal of Prince James, 1697.

Medal of Prince James, 1699.

Medal of Prince James as James III., 1704.

Small CUIUS EST Medal, reverse, REDDITE.

Large CVIVS EST Medal, reverse, REDDITE.

Locket and brooch given by Prince Charles Edward to Flora Macdonald, now the property of the exhibitor's sister, Mrs. John Ponsonby.

The following is Miss Farquhar's description of these interesting relics :—

The locket is of blue enamel on gold, set with pearls. It is oval in form, two and a-half inches by two and a quarter, and has a ring for suspension ; on one side is a lock of the Prince's hair and on the other an interlaced pattern of Flora's. When opened it would appear to have held two miniatures, according to tradition, those of the Prince and of Flora, but these are now missing.

The brooch is in the form of a key and is of gold set with diamonds. Within the ring of the handle is a lock of Prince Charles's hair, and the words “*J'ouvre*” are engraved upon the shaft, whilst the wards of the key are decorated with a red enamelled heart.

The above relics have been handed down by one member of Flora's family to another, until given by the childless inheritor thereof,

to the present owner. The family tradition is that they were souvenirs sent by Charles to Flora after his escape to France. In support of this tradition, I may state that the key is obviously of French manufacture, and nothing could be more appropriate as an expression of gratitude to his benefactress than the design and inscription, for Flora had opened to him a door of escape, and he, in return, gave her the key of his heart in respectful admiration. Moreover it contains only *his* hair, as it would, if sent from France, whereas the locket contains that of both Charles and Flora. But with regard to the locket also, I may say that the cardboard disclosed by the absence of the miniatures bears old printed matter, of, probably, contemporary date in the French language, and it is possible that the Prince may have sent both locket and key from France for Flora to combine their locks and pictures, and thus preserve the miniature he gave her at parting, and the curl of hair of which the following story is told :—

When the Prince had dressed himself [in female attire] as well as he could, the ladies went into his chamber to put on his apron and pin his gown and cap. Before Flora put on the cap, Lady Kingsburgh requested her in Gaelic to ask for a lock of His Royal Highness's hair. Flora, from bashfulness, desired her ladyship in the same language to prefer the petition herself. Charles observed the debate and enquired its object, which was no sooner explained to him than he laid down his head upon the lap of his young conductress and told her to cut off as much as she chose. Flora severed a lock, the half of which she gave to Lady Kingsburgh and the other half she retained for herself.¹

I believe there is a ring² in the possession of a member of Flora's family which also contains a portion of this curl. Of the gift of the portrait of Charles to Flora, which it is believed the locket may have been intended to contain, we have the following account :—

He could not, without much agitation, bid farewell to that young lady, whose whole conduct, during the three days of their acquaintance, had been marked with so much heroism and generous affection, and who indeed must have not only made the strongest impression upon his heart, but exalted his opinion of her sex and of human nature. He

¹ Constable's *Miscellany*, xvi, p. 172.

² *Prince Charles Edward*, by Andrew Lang, p. 205.

embraced her in the tenderest manner, thanked her for her extraordinary services, and concluded by presenting her with a miniature of himself which he desired she would keep for his sake.¹

There is a portrait of Flora painted during her stay in London in 1747, by Marklinn, in which she is represented wearing Prince Charles's miniature and holding a miniature case open in her hand.

Papers.

Miss Helen Farquhar.—“Patterns and Medals bearing the legend IACOBVS III. or IACOBVS VIII.”

Miss Helen Farquhar's subject comprised the coinage of Prince James Stuart prepared for his unsuccessful invasions of 1708 and 1715. Of this there were four types known : (1) crown, dated 1709, on which he is styled IACOBVS III. ; (2) crown, or sixty-shilling piece, of 1716, reading IACOBVS VIII. ; (3) guinea, or quarter-dollar of 1716, reading IACOBVS VIII. ; and (4) guinea, or shilling, of 1716, reading IACOBVS TERTIVS. Only the first was represented by an original coin, but the dies for the others had been preserved in the family of their engravers, the Roettiers, and restrikes were made from them. This fact, Miss Farquhar suggested, would account for the very youthful portrait on the obverse of No. 4 in conjunction with a reverse of 1716, for she believed the dies were not a pair, and that the true reverse had not been preserved. In support of this view she called attention to the fact that the die used was really the reverse of No. 3 in an unfinished state.

The paper is printed in this volume.

Mr. G. M. Fraser.—“Treasure Trove in the North of Scotland.”

The Author contributed an account of “treasure trove in the North of Scotland,” in which he reviewed in detail the numerous finds of coins which have been recorded in that district, and particularly in and around Aberdeen. The discovery of several thousand pieces, of the time of Mary and Francis, where formerly had stood the Grey

¹ Constable's *Miscellany*, xvi, p. 177. Robert Chambers, the author here quoted, states that he received the account from Mrs. Macleod, the daughter of Flora, and derived much information from “Flora's Own Narrative” given by Bishop Forbes.

Friars Monastery in Aberdeen, indicated the probability that they were hidden in 1559, when all ecclesiastical property in the city was seized by the Reformers. Two finds of Edwardian pennies and coins of Alexander III. in the same city, he identified with the military operations of Edward III., and similarly attributed the great hoard discovered there in 1886. This comprised 12,267 coins, of which nearly 12,000 were English of the reigns of the three Edwards, and was contained in a finely worked bronze vase not unlike a "gipsy kettle" in design. There seemed every indication that this large hoard was part of the treasure of the English army which invested and burnt Aberdeen in 1336. The paper is inserted in this volume.

PLATE OF MISCELLANEOUS EXHIBITS, p. 357.

All the coins illustrated are referred to in the Minutes with the exception of the remarkable gold double-crown or half-unite, of Charles I., No. 23, lent by Mr. H. Osborne O'Hagan.

Obverse.—**CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET : HI : REX.**

Crowned bust to left with falling collar; •X• behind the head for the denomination; legend, commencing behind the crown which divides it, between two circles of billet-shaped beads; no mint-mark.

Reverse.—**RELIG : PROT | LEG : ANG | LIBER : PAR** between four straight lines across the field; above, three plumes; below, 1642, all within the legend **EXVRGAT : DEVS : DISSIPENTVR : INIMICI :** commencing on the left and between two beaded circles; no mint-mark.

The obverse differs from that of any other known example, and a comparison of the reverse with, *e.g.*, that of Ruding XXIV, No. 5, suggests the probability that the die for an Oxford sixpence was used to strike this trial or *mule* piece. In this relation it is interesting to consider the converse silver piece of the same reign in the collection of Col. Morrieson, with obverse from the die of a Tower sixpence, mint-mark, rose, and reverse from that of a half-unite with the same mint-mark and illustrated, No. 17 of the Plate of *Miscellaneous Exhibits*, p. 379, of vol. i, of this *Journal*.

The British Numismatic Society.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT, 1906.

DR.	<i>Expenditure.</i>				CR.
		£	s.	d.	
To	printing and binding 1905 <i>Journal</i> including Contributors' reprints, plates and blocks, estimated at	413	4	0	By subscriptions received and due... 533 9 0
„	1904 <i>Journal</i> , cost of delivery and of Contributors' reprints...	54	16	8	„ Ditto ditto from Candidates ... 8 8 0
„	printing and stationery ...	24	3	1	„ admission fees 46 4 0
„	postages	23	19	8	„ amount received compounding subscriptions 30 0 0
„	casts of coins	5	19	9	„ dividends on Consols and interest on bank deposit ... 13 19 8
„	fee to clerk to Council ...	10	10	0	
„	expenses of meetings and refreshments	10	8	6	
„	presentation of Address ...	6	16	6	
„	printing reports of meetings ...	4	11	6	
„	sundry expenses	4	15	4	
	Total expenditure ...	559	5	0	
„	balance, being surplus of income over expenditure for the year...	72	15	8	
		£632	0	8	£632 0 8

BALANCE SHEET, 17th November, 1906.

DR.		£	s.	d.	CR.
To	sundry accounts owing...	360	15	6	By Consols £394 15s. 1d., stock at cost 350 0 0
„	subscriptions received in advance	3	3	0	„ subscriptions and admission fees due but not yet received... 90 6 0
„	accumulated fund, balance 1905 £389 3s. 0d.				„ library cost 16 0 9
„	surplus of income over expenditure, 1906 £72 15s. 8d.	461	18	8	„ cash at bankers— £ s. d. Deposit account 250 0 0 Current account 119 10 5
		£825	17	2	369 10 5
		£825	17	2	£825 17 2

R. H. WOOD, *Treasurer.*

We, the Auditors appointed to audit the accounts of the above Society, hereby certify that all our requirements as auditors have been complied with, and report to the members that we have examined and compared the above accounts with the books and vouchers of the Society, and in our opinion they are properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs, as shown by the books of the Society.

28th November, 1906.

H. ST. B. GOLDSMITH.
ARTHUR G. CHIFFERIEL, F.C.A.

The British Numismatic Society.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

ROYAL MEMBERS.

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS OF WALES.
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS CHRISTIAN.
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS HENRY OF BATTENBERG.

In Alphabetical Order.

HIS MAJESTY LEOPOLD II., KING OF THE BELGIANS.
HIS MAJESTY FREDERIK VIII., KING OF DENMARK.
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HIS MAJESTY GEORGE, KING OF THE HELLENES.
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